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ABSTRACT

Adult education for indigenous peoples in Canada was examined. First, information on government institutions, indigenous organizations, international agencies, and nongovernmental organizations engaged in adult education for Canada's indigenous peoples was compiled. Next, questionnaires and survey techniques were used to research the policy and practice of adult education for Canada's indigenous peoples. Special attention was paid to the following topics: (1) Canada's demographic and cultural characteristics; (2) postsecondary education for Canada's aboriginal peoples in the past and present; and (3) issues and challenges for postsecondary education for Canada's aboriginal peoples (access; completion rates; Indian control of Indian education; and relevance). The study established that, in the past 30 years, postsecondary education for Canada's

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aboriginal peoples has progressed significantly. The add-on, partnership, and First Nations control approaches to administering aboriginal adult education in Canada have each proved beneficial; however, supporting postsecondary education for Canada's aboriginal peoples has also involved providing targeted support services in mainstream institutions. (The bibliography lists 135 references and 21 Web sites. Information about the following types of aboriginal adult education programs in Canada is appended: (1) full-fledged aboriginal colleges and educational institutions; (2) programs based on the enclave model; (3) aboriginal learning centers; and (4) nonprofit educational institutions.) (MN)

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INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ON ADULT EDUCATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

COUNTRY STUDY : CANADA

Coordinator: Linda King

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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ADULT EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN CANADA

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FOREWORD

In the debate and dialogue on indigenous education, the role of adult education in the context of indigenous peoples has come increasingly to the fore. At the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education held in Hamburg in 1997, indigenous peoples themselves participated actively both in the official delegations and in the drafting of the final recommendations. This was something new for international conferences. Although the theme of "indigenous peoples" is often on the agenda, the voice of those same people is often difficult to hear, being mediated by interlocutors, who often do not have the legitimacy to debate the issues. As a result of this active participation two key articles were included in the Hamburg Declaration.

Article 15

Diversity and equality. Adult learning should reflect the richness of cultural diversity and respect traditional and indigenous peoples' knowledge and systems of learning; the right to learn in the mother tongue should be respected and implemented. Adult education faces an acute challenge in preserving and documenting the oral wisdom of minority groups, indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples. In turn, intercultural education should encourage learning between and about different cultures in support of peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms, democracy, justice, liberty, coexistence and diversity.

Article 18

Indigenous education and culture. Indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples have the right of access to all levels and forms of education provided by the state. However, they are not to be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, or to use their own languages. Education for indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples should be linguistically and culturally appropriate to their needs and should facilitate access to further education and training.

But how to interpret these calls for action without a systematic and well founded base of information on adult education? What is the current state of affairs internationally with regard to adult education for indigenous peoples? How are different countries, and different regions tackling the issues? What are the problems, the programmes and the policies being put into

place? And how are indigenous peoples themselves becoming involved in the planning of their own educational futures?

To this end the UNESCO Institute for Education initiated in 1999 an international survey on adult education and indigenous peoples. From the outset, the survey was conceived as a participatory venture involving the views and perspectives of indigenous peoples themselves. A network of focal points was established and where possible these were indigenous organizations themselves, where this was not possible research centres close to indigenous organizations were involved as focal points.

The following focal points were involved from the outset:

Bolivia: PROEIB, Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingue para los Países Andinos. Principal researcher: Luis Enrique Lopez

Brazil: MARI, Grupo de Educação Indígena, University of Sao Paolo. Principal researcher: Aracy Lopes da Silva

Canada: University of Victoria. principal researcher: Philip Cook

Ecuador: PROEIB, Principal researcher: Alba Moya

Greenland: Inuit Circumpolar Conference, principal researcher: Carl Christian Olsen

Guatemala: The Rigoberta Menchu Foundation, principal researcher: Vilma Duque

India: Central Institute for Indian Languages . Principal researcher: Francis Ekka (deceased)

Mexico: CREFAL, Centro de Cooperación Regional para la Educación de Adultos en América Latina y el Caribe. Principal researcher: Mary Paz Valenzuela

New Zealand: Tania Rey, University of Wellington. Principal researcher: Tania Rey

Norway: Sami College, principal researcher: Svein Lund

Peru: PROEIB. Principal researcher: Madeleine Zuniga

Philippines: Cordillera Resource Center, principal researcher: Geraldine Fiagoy

Russia: Russian Academy of Science, principal researcher: Nina Meschtyb

Thailand: IMPECT, Inner Mountain People Education and Culture in Thailand Association. Principal researcher Prassert Trakansuphakon.

USA: principal researcher: Patrick WeaselHead , consultant, Native American Education

The aim of the survey was to provide:

- A reference document for indigenous peoples to help them identify similarities and differences with regard to adult education policy as well as provision and participation patterns in different regions of the world.
- Recommendations and proposals for policy makers , international agencies and NGOs to develop new directions for adult education in cooperation with indigenous peoples.
- A theoretical and conceptual framework in which to place the discussion of adult education for indigenous peoples.[1]

In the first phase of the project the various focal points participating in the survey were responsible for compiling information on government institutions, indigenous organisations as well as international agencies and non-governmental organisations engaged in adult education for indigenous peoples in their region. This information has been separately compiled as well as featuring in the national monographs and appear under separate directories of indigenous education projects in both Spanish and English.

In the second phase, the focal points were involved on research on the policy and practice of adult education for indigenous peoples using questionnaires and survey techniques. Researchers participated in an international meeting held in the Headquarters of UNESCO in Paris in October 1999. This meeting while exchanging the different research findings also produced an international statement on their findings which was presented to the mid Decade review meeting on UNESCO's role in the World Decade for Indigenous Peoples held shortly after also in October 1999 and organised by the UNESCO Institute for Education together with the Division for Cultural Pluralism. A participating researcher was nominated from that meeting, Mr Carl

[1]In this regard, UIE held a workshop on New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples in 1997 in Mexico. See King, L. 1998 Reflecting Visions . New Perspectives on Adult Education and Indigenous Peoples. UNESCO Institute for Education and University of Waikato, New Zealand.

Christian Olsen, to present the enlarged statement on educational and cultural needs of indigenous peoples to the General Conference of UNESCO in November 1999 in the Education and the Culture Commissions.

Research was undertaken with financial support from the Government of Norway and from DANIDA. The UNESCO Institute for Education gratefully acknowledges this support which made the participation of researchers around the world possible. I would like to thank in particular both the past director of the UNESCO Institute for Education, Paul Belanger, and the current director, Adama Ouane, for their support to the project, which has not been easy to coordinate internationally given the hard and difficult conditions under which indigenous peoples live and the nature of the geographical terrain which is often isolated and uncommunicated either by road or by telephone.

I am extremely grateful to all the participating researchers for their intelligent and informed research and their willingness to collect sometimes difficult information to obtain. Their commitment to the field of indigenous education has been inspiring.

I would like to single out the work of research assistant, Sabine Schielmann in helping in the coordination of the survey. She was also responsible for drafting the report on the UN agencies work on indigenous peoples and education and for producing the directory of indigenous oorganisations as well as making informed and valuable observations on the progress of the research and the editing of the final monographs. Sonja Schimann also participated as a part time research assistant for 6 months in 1999, and was responsible for organizing the international meeting, and for designing the home page for the survey.

In the production of the monographs themselves special credit has to go to Cendrine Sebastiani, whose unfailing good humour and inspired professionalism made them a reality.

Linda King

TERMINOLOGY

The following definitions have been taken from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996):

Aboriginal peoples - refers to political and cultural bodies that stem from the original peoples of North America, not to collections of individuals united by so-called 'racial' characteristics.

Aboriginal people (in the singular) - means the individuals belonging to the political and cultural entities known as Aboriginal peoples.

Metis - refers to distinct Aboriginal peoples whose early ancestors were of mixed heritage (First Nation, or Inuit in the case of Labrador Metis and European) and who associate themselves with a culture that is distinctly Metis.

Inuit - replaces Eskimo

First Nation - replaces the term Indian.

Native - sometimes used in place of Aboriginal

Indian – sometimes used in place of Aboriginal or First Nations, generally a legacy from the Indian and Northern Affairs Department (DIAND).

INTRODUCTION

> *"We see a lot more young Aboriginal adults pursuing higher education today. We can already see that it makes a difference. If it continues, the situation will be easier for our children. Pursuing higher education makes people more aware and more understanding."*
>
> First Nations Youth Worker enrolled in post-secondary education while working full-time

> *"We send our children to school and a lot of them fail - they don't finish school. It is important to give young people the understanding and the strength of tradition and culture. If you talk to young people who are strong in their culture and ask them about their academics, you will find they have graduated and some are going to college and university."*
>
> Dr. Samuel Sam (Coast Salish Elder)

The history of adult education for Aboriginal peoples in Canada is recent. Only since the 1970s has specific attention been paid to the needs of Aboriginal peoples in higher education. Not so long ago, it was a non-issue for few were allowed to go beyond 8th grade without being threatened to lose their Indian status.

Since 1972, the residential school system has been dismantled and the number of schools under Aboriginal administration has grown, as have the number of Aboriginal teachers being hired by these schools. Language classes have been introduced and cultural elements have been added to the curriculum. The number of Aboriginal students attending post-secondary institutions has increased.

Three approaches are used in Canada to respond to the needs of Aboriginal peoples - the add-on approach, the partnership approach and the First Nations control approach. Although each approach views the purpose and nature of education for Aboriginal peoples differently, components of each approach often co-exist within a program and institution. Case studies have been undertaken to provide a clearer idea of the variety of programs in place to respond to the specific needs of Aboriginal peoples.

Canadian Aboriginal peoples have much to share about their experience in developing relevant post-secondary programs for Aboriginal students. Many of the achievements in post-secondary education have gone hand in hand with political developments at the national level, in such areas as land claims, treaty negotiations and fiduciary obligations.

Yet, many challenges remain. Too many of the challenges are the same as those identified in the 1970s when post-secondary education was first put on the agenda. Fundamental questions continue to be at the centre of the debate for First Nations educators and programmers. How does one implement the goals of post-secondary education? What are the criteria for evaluating post-secondary education? How can post-secondary education be both about increasing the number of people with degrees, and about providing higher education that is culturally-grounded, and provides students with the tools to transmit their culture? How can the latter be achieved when formal education is fundamentally at odds with First Nations' worldviews and traditional educational methods?

As illustrated in this survey of post-secondary education in Canada, distinct models of programming have been put in place. But although much has been done, we are only at the beginning of developing approaches and perspectives that are relevant and reflect the spirit of the *Indian Control of Indian Education* – a policy statement delivered by the National Indian Brotherhood in 1973 which stands as the litmus test for most educational programming for Canadian Aboriginal Peoples.

Based on the elements covered in *the Indian Control of Indian Education* policy statement, the following definition of post-secondary education has been established for this paper: it includes the formal academic, vocational, and career technical education, as well as adult basic

education, upgrading, life skills and pre-college courses taken to meet post-secondary requirements.[2]

Due to the newness and rapidly evolving nature of post-secondary programs for Aboriginal people, relatively little cohesive and critical information exists on the situation of adult education for Canada as a whole, except for the 1996 Royal Commission reports. To supplement the literature, a number of interviews were carried out with experts in the field. In this way, the paper hopes to capture some of the knowledge, lessons learned and observations of those in the field who lack time to write about their unique experiences. Given the limits of this research, it is to be noted that most of the first-hand material was gathered from British Columbia because of the accessibility for the researchers

In the beginning of the paper, some of the context which defines Aboriginal peoples in Canada is presented. This picture provides the framework within which post-secondary adult education operates, and to a large extent molds the nature and type of programs being developed. As pointed out, some of the distinctive demographic factors include the large number of culturally distinct communities, the small size of communities and the relative isolation of some communities.

CONTEXT

The historical policies of assimilation and integration are an essential preamble to a discussion on Aboriginal peoples today. When the Europeans arrived and well into this century, a concerted effort was made to ensure that Aboriginal peoples would be absorbed into a European-based Canadian society. Policies and legislation that banned traditional ceremonies and prohibited the wearing of traditional costumes and the speaking of native languages were applied throughout the country. The loss of lands and resources and the creation of small land-based reserves for Aboriginal peoples were at the centre-stage of the tragedy. Hundreds of years of displacement and dispossession have often undermined the foundation of Aboriginal societies. The scars are deep.

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[2] The definition has also been adapted from the Ministry of Education Skills and Training (1995).

Aboriginal peoples in Canada still face issues such as poverty, insufficient and unsafe housing, inadequate education, ill-health, polluted water supplies, and family breakdown at levels typically associated with indigent, developing countries. The Royal Commission report observes:

> The persistence of such social conditions in this country - which is judged by many to be the best place in the world to live - constitutes an embarrassment to Canadians, an assault on the self-esteem of Aboriginal people and a challenge to policy makers (1996).

Most communities have experienced severe economic and social loss as a result of assimilation policies. Traditionally, many communities were self-sufficient, but the loss of land and reduced access to natural resources has made this impossible. The transition is difficult. Failing to integrate themselves into the Canadian cash economy, many depend on the social welfare system. On average, dependency on social assistance in the reserves is estimated at 50% (INAC 1997). The levels of unemployment in some communities reach 90%.

The low self-esteem that results from losing autonomy and being subject to discrimination has led to problems of alcohol abuse and violence. "Indians [drink] to ease the pain and frustration of a life of conflicting value systems and dependence on outside institutions for economic survival" (York 1989: 193). Families are often unstable. One-third of Aboriginal children under the age of 15 live in a single-parent home, which is twice the rate of the general population. About 11% of Aboriginal children do not live with their parents. These children typically live with members of an extended family or with a foster family. Most foster placements are "culturally-incongruent" in that they are non-Aboriginal homes.

This grim picture is slowly changing as more communities venture into economic enterprises in different areas, such as tourism, forestry, mining, agriculture, food processing, construction and trades, and oil and gas. The prospects are also changing as a greater number of Aboriginal peoples pursue higher education, an area we shall look at in greater detail below.

In recent decades, there have also been many political developments at the federal and provincial levels. A significant change was the recognition of the inherent right of Aboriginal self-government being articulated in section 35 (1) of the Constitution Act (1982) as a "protected

Aboriginal and treaty right and is now entrenched in the constitution". Although the ramifications of this right are still being determined, clearly successes in land claims and treaty negotiations and the movement towards self-government provide a more favourable environment for post-secondary education. It creates an immediate need for an "*educated*" leadership able to manage the affairs and the future of the community.

Demographic and cultural characteristics

Apart from the legacy of a history of colonization and assimilation, the demographic and cultural diversity of Canadian Aboriginal peoples condition the framework within which post-secondary education operates.

Aboriginal peoples have been categorized by anthropologists into seven cultural groups: the Algonquin tribes, the Agricultural tribes of the eastern woodlands, the Plains tribes, the Pacific Coast tribes, the Western Cordillera tribes, the Basin tribes of the Yukon and Mackenzie Rivers, and the Inuit tribes. According to the last national census, 799,010 Canadians identify themselves as Aboriginal peoples, representing about 3% of Canada's total population. At the federal level, Aboriginal peoples are identified as North American Indian, Metis or Inuit. According to this classification, about two-thirds would be North American, one-quarter Metis and one in 20 Inuit.

The majority of Aboriginal people live in the four western provinces, accounting for 63% of Canada's total Aboriginal population. The highest concentration of Aboriginal people is found in the North. The 39,6990 Aboriginal people in the Northwest Territories represent 62% of its total population. Almost two-thirds, 64%, of the total Metis population of 210,000 live in the three Prairie Provinces –Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. There are approximately 27,000 Metis people in British Columbia.

About 3 out of 10 Aboriginal peoples live on rural reserves, and another 3 in 10 live in census metropolitan areas. One-quarter live in urban areas other than census metropolitan areas, and one-fifth in rural areas other than reserves, often in isolated northern communities. The relative isolation of many Aboriginal peoples is an important consideration in the delivery of post-secondary programs.

Among the Aboriginal languages reported in the 1996 census, Cree is the most spoken (10% of the Aboriginal population). The second is Inuktitut, spoken by 3.4%, and the third is Ojibway at 2.8%. The majority of Aboriginal people, 68%, indicate English as their mother tongue, while 6% identify French. It is to be noted that many Aboriginal peoples no longer speak their native language. Prohibiting use of native languages was strongly enforced in the residential schools. In many cases Aboriginal languages are in danger of disappearing, although efforts are being made to revive the languages with the younger generation.

In analyzing the demographics of the Aboriginal population, the high number of young people stands out. The average age of the Aboriginal population in 1996 is 25.5 years, 10 years younger than the average of 35.4 years in the general population. Children under 15 comprise 35% of all Aboriginal peoples. Although the fertility rate among Aboriginal peoples is declining, it remains higher than for the total population.

The wide demographic distribution is associated to the fact that Aboriginal communities are culturally distinct, with unique cultural practices. This makes it difficult to provide a descriptive summary of Aboriginal cultural practices. However, Aboriginal peoples generally agree that some broad values and principles are shared. These relate in particular to the pre-eminence of spirituality, based on a reverence for life and an affirmation of the inter-connectedness of all beings.

> Any attempt to understand a traditional Aboriginal worldview must begin with acknowledging the vital connection between First Nations, Mother Earth and the Creator. Whether the topic at hand is care of children, justice, education, economics or forestry, any learner of traditional Aboriginal ways must grasp the fundamental importance of creation and spirituality to the identity of indigenous people (Hammersmith and Sawatsky 1995: 16).

Traditionally, seasonal celebrations showed gratitude for the Great Spirit - the Creator of the people according to local belief system (e.g. Raven for some coastal people and Wasakichuk for the plains Cree) - and to the spirits of the animals and the natural world for their contribution in sustaining life. Plants were used as medicines and individuals within a community were nurtured into their role or profession, whether hunter, healer, shaman, or keeper of stories. Some of these

traditions are still practiced. Many are held sacred and not shared with outsiders, even amongst Aboriginal communities. This holistic conception of all things clashes with the views of segmentation, polarization and polarity found in European thinking.

In identifying common values, Elders from different nations have come together to establish codes of ethics that reflect their actions and the stories they tell.[3] Showing respect, giving thanks to the Creator and observing moderation and balance in all things are some of the values identified. It is interesting that amongst Indigenous peoples worldwide, common values and priorities have also been identified. In an international gathering on indigenous children's rights, the preeminent role of family and extended family, the determinant role culture plays in a person's well-being, the connectedness to the land as part of creating identity, and the value of experiential learning were commonly emphasized (see Halldorson et al. 1997).

Traditionally, a large part of education for Aboriginal peoples is about learning values and practicing them. This is also referred to as traditional knowledge.[4] Elders play a central role in passing on the teachings. Elders are resource persons for a "person's relationship with self, family, community and Creator. They [deal] with the mental, emotional, and spiritual health of parents and children" (Hammersmith and Sawatsky 1995: 80).

The extended family begins with the Elders of the family. It then extends vertically to include children and grandchildren, and laterally to incorporate adult siblings, cousins and their spouses and children. Extended family can also include significant non-kin: one belonged to a family if one acted as if one belonged. The extended family system forms a sort of social and emotional webbing that cushions and supports its members. Each member contributes what he or she can, but no one has to bear all the needs of any other person. In Haida culture, grandparents teach the values, philosophy and principles of culture, and aunts and uncles teach practical skills of life. Parents are not considered objective, so the main method by which parents

---

[3] See Karin Clark and Paul Stevenson in First Nations Young People: becoming healthy leaders for Today and Tomorrow for the code of ethics developed by a group of elders in Lethbridge, Alberta for the Four World's Development Project.

[4] Traditional knowledge is a term used to describe a body of knowledge built by a group of people through generations living in close contact with nature.

taught the child is by example. Children are not a possession of parents, rather they are cherished by all. The specific skills children learn are very important in fulfilling cultural roles, cultural values, and in establishing identity. In Wakashan language, no distinction is made between brother, sister, or cousin, nor are aunts and uncles separate from parents. Family structure is shaped by generation, not specific parentage. The family network leads a communal lifestyle, with the result that intimate bonding occurs among its membership (Hammersmith and Sawatsky 1995: 74).

Traditionally, learning is accomplished by observing adult role models. This style of education is sometimes referred to as "field-dependent," as opposed to the abstract or rote learning of Western society which is "field-independent." The passing on of Aboriginal traditional knowledge is seen as a community effort in which every individual has a place in the circle.

> Children traditionally are repeatedly exposed to a holistic and authentic experience from the culture (e.g. spring camping, or drying and smoking fish). The child and adult would have the same experience, but, through years of experience the adult would be more skilled in the experience than the child. Each person would get from any experience that for which he or she was ready (Hammersmith and Sawatsky 1995: 81).

To what extent traditional education is practiced today varies considerably, but as discussed below traditional education sets some of the parameters for post-secondary education. For instance, one may view Elders' participation as a criteria for evaluating a post-secondary program. "Elders play a leading role in providing counsel and teaching on these traditions, and they are a vital element in Aboriginal-controlled organizations and services" (Hammersmith and Sawatsky 1995: 70).

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

History

The introduction of European-style education to Aboriginal peoples in Canada can be traced back as far as the mid-1600s when schools operated by religious missions were first introduced in

some regions. Some communities did not see the arrival of European missionaries until much later. Regardless of the timing, location or context:

> Formal education was, without apology, assimilationist. The primary purpose of formal education was to indoctrinate Aboriginal people into a Christian, European worldview, thereby 'civilizing' them (Royal Commission Report Vol. 3 1996: 434).

Under the Indian Act (1876) the federal government assumed responsibility for total control of education for all Aboriginal children on reserves. As a result of this, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), through government policies and plans, for a century or more subjected Aboriginal youth to:

> a combination of powerful but profoundly distracting forces of cognitive imperialism and colonization. Various boarding schools, industrial schools, day schools, and Eurocentric educational practices ignored or rejected the world views, languages, and cultures of Aboriginal parents in the education of their children (Battiste 1995: 16).

The most significant instance of the government's policy of forced assimilation is the church-state run residential school system established as early as the nineteenth century, with their fastest growth happening in the early 1920s and 1930s. Aboriginal children were taken from their families and communities, and placed in residential schools where they were forbidden to speak their language and practice their culture. If an Aboriginal student somehow survived the residential school and wanted a higher education, it was rarely possible.[5] Those who wanted to would lose their Indian status. "The message this [approach] gave to Aboriginal people is that education results in assimilation and loss of not only rights and privileges, but also loss of basic identity" (McFadden 1996: 2). Rare were the students who went past Grade 8.

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[5] Since the beginning of this decade, the impact of Native residential schooling system has been examined. Canadian society is beginning to acknowledge the detrimental impact assimilationist and racist policies have had on Aboriginal individuals, communities and cultures. These communities have been burdened with a legacy of fear, internalized racism, low feelings of competence and low expectations in regard to self, learning, schools, institutions and education generally.

It was only at the end of the 1960s that Canada's policies began to shift. In 1969, the federal government announced its *White Paper Policy* that sought to transfer responsibility for First Nations education on reserves to the provinces. First Nations peoples objected to the *White Paper Policy* and issued their own *Red Paper Policy*. This was followed by a policy statement, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (1973), articulated by the National Indian Brotherhood, the first national organization bringing Canadian Aboriginal peoples together. The National Indian Brotherhood reconstituted itself into the Assembly of First Nations in 1984.

The 1973 policy statement is considered to be a key document in Aboriginal education. Therein, Aboriginal peoples oppose the government's intent to surrender its responsibilities for Indian education to the provinces. A vision for Indian education is articulated, with a statement on the philosophy and value of Indian education. It states:

> We want education to provide the setting in which our children can develop the fundamental attitudes and values which have an honoured place in Indian tradition and culture (1973:2).

The document focuses on four educational concerns --in the areas of responsibility, programs, teachers and facilities - and calls for:

- local control of First Nations education;
- involvement of First Nations people in curriculum development;
- training for First Nations people in the area of teaching and counseling;
- day schools in communities.

In 1973, *Indian Control of Indian Education* was accepted in principle by the federal government, as a national policy. Discussion between the government and First Nations, Inuit and Metis peoples shifted to restoring control of education to First Nations families and communities.

The *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy statement makes special reference to the importance of adult education.

> Considering the great need there is for professional people in Indian communities, every effort should be made to encourage and assist Indian students to succeed in post-secondary studies (1973: 13).

The policy also outlines ways in which students should be encouraged to pursue higher education. These include: recruitment programs; pre-university programs; counseling and tutoring services; financial assistance; adjustment to entrance requirements and representation on governing bodies of institutions of higher learning.

Based on the elements covered in *the Indian Control of Indian Education* policy statement, the following definition of post-secondary education has been established for this paper: it includes the formal academic, vocational, and career technical education, as well as adult basic education, upgrading, life skills and pre-college courses taken to meet post-secondary requirements.[6]

With the exception of some Aboriginal teacher education programs that were launched in the mid-1960s in Ontario and the Northwest Territories and which attempted to cater to the needs of Aboriginal students, it is generally agreed that little in post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples existed prior to the 1970s. Since then, significant developments have taken place. These will be presented and critically examined in the remaining part of the paper.

A key reference material for assessing the state of adult education is provided by the Royal Commission Reports initiated by the federal government of Canada in 1996 to investigate and analyze the current situation of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The RCAP report, *Gathering*

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[6] The definition has also been adapted from the Ministry of Education Skills and Training (1995).

Strength, summarizes the findings from meetings with Aboriginal peoples across the country, specifically in the areas of social policy, family life, education, justice, health, housing, arts and heritage. As discussed below, despite the achievements, many elements of the *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy statement are yet to be realized.

The Current Situation

Administration

The administrative management of post-secondary education has been an important element in determining the nature of post-secondary programming for Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The control over funding that remains in the hands of the federal government is considered to be a major impediment to local control.

As enacted by law in 1956, the federal government was responsible for the funding of Aboriginal students in post-secondary education. No coherent government program existed until 1977 when the *Appropriations Act* allowed for funding for First Nations post-secondary education. This is also known as the E-12 guidelines for funding Aboriginal learners in post-secondary education. This provided assistance to cover the costs of tuition, books and supplies, travel and living allowances for students in universities, colleges, and pre-entrance programs.

The E-12 guidelines were replaced in 1989 with the post-secondary student assistance programs. This new program tightened eligibility and restricted funding for Aboriginal students (see McFadden 1996 and AFN 1993). As a result of this policy, students are denied funding. The assistance is often barely sufficient for students to cope. This change in policy was condemned in the 1989 *Canadian Human Rights Commission Report*.

> [The] decision to restrain the growth in funding to attend post-secondary institutions [seems] ill-considered. We have underlined on several occasions that, given the importance of education, and particularly technical and post-secondary education, it would be worse than shortsighted not to guarantee every possible opportunity to able native persons to pursue their schooling at the post-secondary level (1990: 16).

Since the 1970s, the government has been enacting a devolution plan, and the local bands manage an increasing amount of post-secondary monies. Despite some changes, the government continues to keep control in subtle way.

> First Nations which have accepted local control with the devolution plan recognize it as increased administrative responsibility without managerial authority and no recognition of First Nations jurisdiction; the federal government continues to set policy and budgets (AFN 1993: 4).

It is felt that DIAND "continues its history of policy and budget manipulation to meet their needs, and not the needs of First Nations people desiring access to post-secondary training and development" (AFN 1993: 7). Most policy changes are carried out without prior consultation. It is believed that direct program by local bands would allow First Nations to look closely at per-students costs, and in general keep better track of where the money is going.

While there has been significant overall budget growth, this does not necessarily reflect inflation and cost of living increases. In April 1991, the Prime Minister announced a five-year spending plan but this is not sufficient. Still many First Nation's students are denied attending post-secondary education.

A major argument put forward by First Nations organizations is that the federal government should recognize that post-secondary education is part of the inherent treaty rights of Aboriginal peoples. A background paper to a roundtable on post-secondary education held by the Assembly of First Nations in 1993 states that:

> Despite [the rights recognized in the section 35 of the Constitution Act 1982]. The government continues to refuse to recognize that post-secondary education is included in inherent aboriginal and treaty rights to education, and continues to treat this as a non-essential discretionary program (AFN 1993).

It is argued that through treaties, the government agreed to provide programs that would support Indians in participating in the emerging society and economy in exchange for rights of access to land and resources. The federal government has responded by arguing that "education

is provided based on the standard of the day, that is, education services and programs as they existed when treaties were negotiated ", and post-secondary was not an issue at the time (AFN 1993: 3). The "standard of the day" is a weak and narrow argument given that it has not been interpreted this way in other treaty contexts. An ongoing concern is that as long as the government considers post-secondary education a non-essential and discretionary program, it will be subject to budget cuts.

Trends

Generally speaking, it is difficult to locate historical data, relevant to Aboriginal post-secondary education. As Archibald and colleagues (1995) explain:

> It has not been customary in Canada for many universities to keep records distinguishing First Nations people from others so that reports such as those reported by Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada provide little information about First Nations access and retention (Archibald 1995: 1754).

The last three Canadian censuses provide an idea of the number of students completing post-secondary education. The 1981 census reveals that 2% of the Aboriginal population as compared to 8.1% of the non-Aboriginal population held university degrees. The 1991 census indicates that the percentage has risen to 2.6% compared to 11.6% for the non-Aboriginal population. In 1996, the census pointed out that 4.2% of the Aboriginal population completed university as compared to 15.5% of the non-Aboriginal population.

In the non-university post-secondary area, percentages and increases over the fifteen years are higher for the Aboriginal population. In 1981, 8.9% of the Aboriginal population, compared to 13% of the non-Aboriginal population, completed non-university, post-secondary education and earned a certificate. In 1991 the figures had risen to 13.8% and 15.8% respectively. In 1996, 21% of the Aboriginal population had completed college, compared to 25.5% of the non-Aboriginal population.

A report published by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, entitled *University Education and Economic Well-being: Indian Achievement and Prospects* (1990) claims that, based on the 1986 census, non-Indians were three times more likely than Indians to attend University and seven times more likely to graduate with a degree; only 23% of Indians who complete high school will attend university while 33% of non-Aboriginal high school graduates will attend; 6.2% of the Aboriginal population attempt university and only 1.3% earn a degree; about 25% of Indians who attend university earn a degree compared with 55% of non-Indians.

The available statistics suggest there has been an increase in post-secondary education completion rates over the past fifteen years, although there are enumeration differences between censuses that could contribute to past decade's upward trend.[7].

With respect to these general figures, it is important to point out some differences in educational attainment amongst Aboriginal peoples. The Inuit people, for instance, have an educational attainment that is generally lower than that of other Aboriginal peoples. Nearly half (46%) of the Inuit population 15 years and over have less than a grade nine in 1996 and just over 1% complete university, compared to nearly 3% for all Aboriginal peoples (Tait 1999:10). This is partly explained by the greater isolation of Inuit communities. The creation of the new territory of Nunavut, however, has created a need for formally qualified Inuit people to occupy the various public-sector jobs. Many efforts are being made to train Inuit young people to qualify for these jobs.

It is notable that while the Inuit may have not accessed formal education institutions as much as other Aboriginal peoples in Canada, Inuit language and culture remain one of the strongest. This raises a central question for post-secondary education, and education in general, of Aboriginal peoples. If it is agreed that formal education is required in the modern context, how

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[7] Since the 1981 census far more First Nations are not taking part in the census. Also, there has been a change in the questions. In the 1981 census, the question pertained to one's Aboriginal heritage or origin and in 1996 people were asked if they identified with an Aboriginal group. During the 1986 to 1996 period, an increasing number of people, mostly those with North American Indian or Metis background, began to identify with an Aboriginal group, thus raising the total number of people who reported Aboriginal identity on the census. Many of those people were relatively well-educated and, as a result, may have helped push up the average educational attainment of all young Aboriginal adults over the decade (see 1996 Census, Statistics Canada, 1999 p. 7).

can this be delivered without being at the cost of losing the culture and language. Is there a dilemma? This will be further discussed below.

Also hidden behind the statistics is a somewhat higher rate of success for women than for men. At a national level, the differences are slight but discussions with interviewees and research suggest that the difference may be significant in different parts of the country. In research undertaken with the Cree in Northern Alberta in 1997, it was found that out of the 51 adults undertaking upgrading in 1996/97, 70% were women (Blanchet-Cohen and Dumas 1997). Being from communities that had settled to year-round life on reserves only recently, many interviewees felt that the transition from the traditional roles to school was easier for women than for men. Men were traditionally hunters and trappers responsible for providing for the family, and women were caretakers of the home. It has been argued that women have been more prone to seeing education as a means of providing for the future of the family. Thus, one finds a high percentage of single mothers attending school full-time.

It is noteworthy that representation of Aboriginal students has been higher in selected fields. Certainly, education is an important field. Other significant areas of study for Aboriginal peoples are law and economics. The greater presence of Aboriginal peoples in some fields rather than others is related to political developments at the federal and provincial levels. Law has naturally been a growing field of interest with the number of legal issues involved in land claims.

An over-arching incentive for pursuing higher education is the openings it creates on the job market. According to the 1996 figures, unemployment rates for young adults with a university degree are only 9% whereas without high school it reaches 40% (see Armstrong et al., 1990). There is also a favourable environment within Canadian society for hiring people of Aboriginal descent, particularly to manage programs that serve Aboriginal populations. In some cases, preferential employment policies exist.

In general, several elements have contributed to the increase in Aboriginal adults attending post-secondary programs. These include:

- The establishment of new university-based programs for Aboriginal students initially in education, law and preparatory programs and now extending to other areas such as health, and the introduction of Native Studies programs in existing institutions;

- On-campus support services and facilities for students including counselors, tutors, liaison personnel and resident Elders;
- Partnerships between Aboriginal communities and post-secondary institutions which offer 'community-based' educational programs in those communities; Modification of admission protocols especially in Aboriginal specific programs;
- Increase in federal funding for Aboriginal students. (DIAND's Indian and Inuit Post-Secondary Education Program has grown from $400,000 in 1969/70 to $247 million in 1994/95. In 1969/70 DIAND assisted approximately 800 post-secondary students, while in 1992/93 more than 21,000 students received assistance.)

Goals of Post-secondary Education

Beyond the issue of statistics lies the question: what should post-secondary education programs for aboriginal adults achieve? In other words, what are the goals of First Nations education? Increasing the educational levels of Aboriginal students is an over-arching objective but not the only one. As one reviews the literature and speaks to First Nation experts in the field, one realizes there is agreement that the *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy statement lays-out the overall goal. Each institution involved in post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples puts this goal in practice differently.

According to Chief Ron Ignace at the Secwepemc Education Institute in British Columbia the challenge of education programs is:

> to open up new educational horizons by launching and continuing with university courses founded upon Native values, philosophies, languages, and cultures. . . for creating First Nations self-reliance and self-determination (1990).

The University of British Columbia First Nations House of Learning advocates "the kind of education that will truly liberate us so we can have the independence once enjoyed by our ancestors" (Kirkness 1996). The University of Saskatchewan articulates a vision of cultural restoration and seeks to promote a nourishing of "the impossible dream of the equality of

Aboriginal languages." (Battiste 1997). The Meadow Lake Tribal Council, which formed an educational partnership with the School of Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria sees education as a way : "to help their children grow up healthier and better cared for, and to develop a strong sense of their First Nations heritage" (McCallum and Pence 1994: 1).

According to Bill White, who has over 25 years experience working in the area of Aboriginal education and is presently the Aboriginal Liaison Officer at the University of Victoria, a key criteria for evaluating post-secondary programs is the extent to which a program prepares people to work with their community:

> For me the litmus paper test with all institutions is ultimately if the student will be able to effectively work with traditionally-trained elders, to work and reinforce the teaching methods of our people –because in fact that is what makes us First Nations. Institutions should ask themselves: are our graduates going to be able to work with the elders, enhance the language programs and deal with the drop-out rates and unemployment rates from our perspective? (Interview 1999).

Before evaluating the status of post-secondary education, the following section presents some of the current methods of delivering post-secondary education in Canada. This is followed by case studies, which illustrate various approaches. As discussed below, a number of issues affect the delivery and nature of post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples, and need to be considered in evaluating post-secondary education for Aboriginal adults.

Approaches and Practices

Presently there are three main approaches to Aboriginal education in Canada, which apply directly to the arena of Aboriginal adult education: the add-on approach, the partnership approach, and the First Nations control approach.

Add-On Approach

The add-on approach can be described as Aboriginal enrichment of existing curricula and pedagogy. This approach has also been called the "beads and feathers approach". It is basically about "dressing up" pre-existing methods and curriculum to make it appear to be more culturally-appropriate for Aboriginal people. Adding lessons on Aboriginal culture, using First Nations culture as contextual background for the teaching of subject matter, or adjusting the pedagogical approach to include traditional First Nations processes such as a talking circle are some of the methods used in this approach. In university textbooks, for instance, a 'pull out' box is used to illustrate how a concept relates to a First Nations' situation.

The Aboriginal add-on approach, currently used to varying degrees, predominates in the Canadian public school system and in many university and college courses. One advantage of the add-on approach is that it is the least threatening to the status quo and requires the least effort to implement. It does not demand fundamental change. In essence, it is a pragmatic approach which may offer a mild sense of inclusion to Aboriginal students in majority culture educational settings. Advocates of the add-on approach tend to include large institutions that are resistant to large-scale change. This is the case, for instance, in school curriculum administered by the provinces. Thus, in 1998/99, the BC Ministry of Education, together with First Nations advisors, created a First Nations curriculum entitled "Shared Learnings". It is a guide to introducing First Nations history and culture into pre-existing curricula from kindergarden to grade 12, in a way which precludes extra work for teachers.

The add-on approach is often viewed as a mean of promoting multi-culturalism, and a way of including First Nations people into mainstream institutional structures. It has been offered to educators as an easy way of accommodating the new recognition of Aboriginal cultures without requiring a major shift in the system. Does it work?

Marie Battiste (1997), a First Nations education theorist, condemns the 'add-and-stir' model of education in that it does not assist people in overcoming their oppression. She uses the phrase 'tribal epistemology' to encapsulate the historical experience and worldview of First Nations and talks about the need to construct education around Native world views. Essentially, Battiste believes that it is due to the 'colonized mind' that Aboriginal families choose to immerse their children in mainstream education. On this point, it is interesting to note the experience of the

Saanich Indian School Board. Although this is a school directed by the four Saanich communities, not all parents from the community send their children to the tribal school. They prefer to send them to the public school because of a fear that they may be receiving a lower quality of education (personal communication with school principle).

Certainly, if the criteria for evaluating post-secondary education is the achievement of decolonization and cultural integrity, the add-on approach does little. Nonetheless, it can be argued that this approach is better than nothing especially given the reality that changing curricula is not an easy task. The improvement from the status quo provided by the add-on approach can make a difference for First Nation students by making them feel more accepted. This can help them pursue their education. The difference the add-on approach makes will also depend on the support services offered to Aboriginal students in a given institution. Most universities and colleges in Canada have courses that use the add-on approach.

Partnership Approach

The partnership approach constitutes the second main approach to Aboriginal education. Advocates of this approach research and participate in bi-cultural enterprises between mainstream educational institutions and First Nation communities. This approach is often driven by a philosophical belief in the principles of grassroots community development: helping people to help themselves by asking what they need and offering the tools to meet these needs. The language of the second quadrant includes "partnership," "equality", "mutual-aid," and "cooperation." It is a kind of 'vanguard' situation which dissolves after the needs of the community have been met, leaving the First Nation partner in complete control of its programs.

Participation in a partnership enterprise requires a willingness to collaboratively construct a curriculum that addresses the particular needs of a community. A First Nations community may find this type of program attractive because of the opportunities for human development at a local level. This is dependent upon the political will of the community to work in partnership with an outside, non-Aboriginal organization. Moreover, individuals and communities which are in the process of establishing a separate, non-integrated identity and vision may not be ready to work in such partnerships. There are an increasing number of partnership programs being put

in place in Canada; each is unique. Included in the case studies that follow is the presentation of a partnership program that has been operating for the past 10 years.

Central issues in partnership programs are "equality," and "consultants and educators as learners". The issue of equality is an area of sensitivity since the First Nation 'partner' is often coming from a place of relative disempowerment, which is often why it requests the services of the institutional partner. It is therefore critical to ensure in any strategy aimed at providing self-reliance that key elements of the higher education system, including its research and new knowledge dispensing capabilities, are brought into an equitable and cooperative partnership with Native developmental interests.

Chief Ron Ignace of the Secwepemc Education Institute and the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council initiated a partnership program between Simon Fraser University and the Secwepemc First Nations Studies Program. The SFU report states:

> they were seeking a partnership, a friendship, in their aspirations to take charge of their affairs, to repossess their culture, to reclaim their history, and to shape it all for the future (see Sharma 1990: 3).

The report documents the equality inherent in this collaborative relationship and identifies '4 Rs' as constituting the premise of effective programming initiatives: respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility (see Kirkness and Barnhardt 1991). Part of the program's success is attributed to the flexibility and responsiveness of the organizers and policies, due in large part to the close relationship between users and providers. The program was developed and is managed by a joint steering committee with equal representation from the two parties.

Other researchers find that Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal partnerships are "joint ventures [that] can generate divergent or ambivalent feelings with regard to the issue of assimilation" (Ferrazi 1989: 23). Feelings of distrust in partnership can arise, due to a disempowering history of colonization. This speaks to the need for the institutional partner to enter from a place of humility, openness and willingness to engage in an open-ended process with the community partner. As illustrated in the case of the Meadow Lake and University of Victoria program, the principles of the partnership were established together after both parties agreed on the need and rationale for working together.

In order for equality to prevail amongst both partners, educators must come to the table as learners. One might think that partnerships are practical because of the advice and expertise the professional partner has to offer. Ironically, often "the paradox of knowledge and experience is an impediment to development, rather than an asset" ((McCaskill and Lockhart 1986: 162).

In summary, partnership programs have lots of potential, and may be the ideal solution for communities that seek to develop a curriculum modeled to their culture and aspirations, while at the same time benefiting from the experience and accreditation of a formal institution. The nature of the partnership will of course vary depending on the relationship established. Community partners need to knowingly enter the partnership with the intention of jointly establishing the direction of the program. The partnership approach is not however a solution for all communities and students. One of the issues that arises in a partnership program established with a given community is the number of people a community wants to train in a given area. Some communities are seeing the need to strategically target the training of their members in different areas, the underlying aim being to eventually employ their members in the different functions required for managing the communities. Achieving this through partnership can be difficult because of the small numbers of students involved in each training area.

First Nations Control approach

The third approach, First Nations Control, contains an element of collective individuation. It is a place where Native communities choose to separate themselves from the mainstream, to reclaim their educational services along with other forms of self-governing practices. Its' motto is the *Indian Control of Indian Education* with a conscious objection to the mainstreaming of First Nation children. It is a withdrawal of support from the dominant system in favour of monocultural First Nations educational programming, where the content and delivery of curricula lie with the First Nations community. The desired outcome of "First Nations control" is cultural re-integration and 'collective self-actualization' for First Nation people.

Currently, the majority of the research by First Nation researchers deals with "First Nations approaches." Verna Kirkness (1997) has written an article entitled "Our People's Education: Cut the Shackles; Cut the Crap; Cut the Mustard". The title reveals the approach outlined in the

article, which contains a strong appeal to First Nation individuals and communities to develop quality education for their people:

> We owe it to our people, after decades of oppressive church and government control, to release them from this bondage by creating the kind of education that will truly liberate us so we can have the independence once enjoyed by our ancestors.

This new education, according to Kirkness, must begin with people in First Nation communities celebrating culture and history. Kirkness advocates a sharing of materials between First Nation schools and programs. She is opposed to rhetoric about the need for educational reform for First Nations people and asserts that:

> Native language instruction must be an important part of the curriculum and is integral to cultural survival. The Elders must be invited to participate and teach. We must listen to the Elders in a meaningful way, more than just inviting them to say a prayer or tell a story.

Politically, Kirkness advocates radical change for a new, unique and meaningful system of education, and warns against 'band-aiding', adapting and supplementing. She cites the struggle in making this change as the "difficulty of overcoming colonial domination."

Marie Battiste, in her article "Enabling the Autumn Seed: Toward a Decolonized Approach to Aboriginal Knowledge, Language, and Education" (1997) examines the role of 'cognitive imperialism' in Aboriginal education --the relationship between indigenous knowledge and eurocentrism in public schools. For her the bottom line is that Aboriginal languages are a central source of survival for the people: they are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival of the culture and political integrity of any people. Many other researchers concur with this position (see Archibald, 1995; Leavitt, 1995; Stairs, 1995; Kirkness 1997).

First Nation scholars also identify community control over decision-making as a crucial factor in education. Sharilyn Calliou advocates for community schools as:

> a method for the reconstruction of participatory forms in healthy communities, through the processes of holistic educational activity that is reciprocally shared by community members through processes of self-observation, self-help, self-reflection, and self-evaluation at the grassroots level (Calliou 1993: 27).

Kirkness believes community approaches to education and training are all the more relevant for First Nations communities because "the effectiveness of First Nations self-government is dependent on many variables, including regaining local control of the institutions that impact on Indian lives" (1986: 77).

First Nations approaches generally require dramatic changes in existing systems and in the political will of Canadians to recognize community autonomy and First Nations sovereignty. The reticence of Canadian society to honour historical treaties and autonomy is revealed in mainstream resistance to land claims, treaty settlements and attempts to exercise historical control over land-use. Where widespread systemic changes are not immediately detectable, some educators employ interim approaches until the political will catches up with the recommendations of theorists such as Kirkness and Battiste.

A large number of post-secondary Aboriginal-controlled institutions have seen the day in Canada. The existing programs can be summarized under the following types:

(1) The first is similar to a full-fledged college and is usually accredited with one or more mainstream public post-secondary institutions. For example, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC).

(2) The second is a smaller and more locally focused affiliated institution, For example, the Yellowhead Tribal Council, which offers, in partnership with colleges or universities, preparatory or college/ university programs in their own communities.

(3) The third type are the community learning centres which often have a site in the community where a number of accredited or non-accredited programs are delivered. These are either owned by an outside institution or by the community. Examples are the Saanich Adult Education Centre on Vancouver Island and the Nunavut Sivuniksavut College in Ottawa.

(4) The fourth type of institution is the non-profit institute that offers training in communities, relevant to Aboriginal self-government and often not accredited. For example, the First Nations Technical Institute in Tyendinaga, Ontario.

Due to the newness and evolving nature, it is difficult to find critical information on the type of programs that put the First Nations control approach in practice.[8] In the case studies presented below, interviews were used to supplement the literature on the programs. It is to be noted that these case studies were chosen because they were believed to represent a type of programming in post-secondary education for Aboriginal people, but also because of their accessibility for the researchers. Most of the case studies are programs operating in British Columbia. Summaries of other programs, some of which are better known than those discussed here, are provided in the Annex.

In general, it was found that First Nations Control stands as the goal for many programs but is not necessarily feasible. Often, only partial control takes place. In many cases, one will see a specific aspect of post-secondary education, such as an upgrading program or a training program for teachers that will be under First Nation control.

As raised in the case studies, an important consideration for First Nations control has been funding. The Royal Commission also indicates that where Aboriginal-run programs exist, they survive on unstable project funding. This discourages program and curriculum development. Besides, achieving First Nations' control calls for a change within Canadian society. There exist many barriers to supporting and giving this control to First Nations.

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[8] Non-aboriginal researchers have commented on the obstacles they faced as non-Native scholars attempting to gather information from Aboriginal communities. At times they were seen as intrusive and "treading where they are not welcome."

As one looks at the different approaches in action, one realizes that there are often progressive phases. In other words, the first step can be an add-on approach, the second development of a partnership approach, and finally the realization of First Nations' control.

Case Studies

First Nations Partnership Program[9]

The First Nations Partnership Program illustrates the partnership approach. The Program evolved out of the efforts of a few dedicated members of the School of Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria in collaboration with various Aboriginal communities. In 1989, Dr. Alan Pence was approached by the Tribal Council of the First Nations community, Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan. Meadow Lake had identified the shortage of quality child care as a need for its nine communities and was seeking a post-secondary institution willing to jointly develop a culturally-appropriate program to train adults as early childhood care and education workers in the community. This contact marked the beginnings of a partnership which would last five years, and a university program that would expand to work with other First Nations communities expressing similar needs. For the purposes of this case study, the focus will primarily be on the partnership experience between the University of Victoria School of Child and Youth Care with the Meadow Lake Tribal Council.

This project of community-based training for Aboriginal adult early childhood education care practitioners began with a three-year funding commitment by the federal government to begin the partnership process. Meetings were held between participants of the University of Victoria and the Meadow Lake Tribal Council to establish a foundation on which the work could begin. An initial literature search conducted by the university revealed that little information was published in the area of bi-cultural partnerships: this left a tabula rasa on which the process of culturally-appropriate curriculum development could begin. Meadow Lake community members are comprised of the Cree and the Dene nation, so the program could rightly be labeled multi-cultural as opposed to bi-cultural.

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[9] For more information on the case study see McCallum and Pence (1994), Ball and Pence (1999), and Pence (1998).

One of the main sources of program success was a focus on culturally appropriate practice. The partners met with several outside advisors and through a series of brainstorming sessions articulated seven principles of what came to be known as the generative curriculum, which would guide their journey over uncharted waters.

The seven principles are revisited at every stage of the curriculum, as they inspire both the process and the product of the learning. These principles are: the community initiated/community based approach based on the concern for community well-being; the program's incorporation of 'community relevant' and broad social concerns of child and youth care services within the training of early childhood care workers; training provided in the form of a career ladder, ranging from a one-week training session to a 4 year baccalaureate program, which students can step-on/step/off as appropriate for them; a bi-cultural approach, respecting both bi-cultural and multi-cultural learning. Using this model Cree and Dene students are learning Meadow Lake First Nations caregiving traditions, values and practices as well as those of the mainstream culture. The generative approach integrates text-based material with information from students, Elders, and other community members, resulting in courses tailored to the First Nations of Meadow Lake.

As well, the program focused on the principle of empowerment, recognizing strengths rather than deficits. The child was seen as part of 'an ecological focus,' including the development of an interactive systems framework wherein the child is central to the well being of families and communities. Finally, a generative curriculum was developed through a model that successively builds on culturally appropriate information generated in the preceding deliveries of the courses.

Using these principles as program guidelines, certain activities were nurtured in an ongoing manner. These included Elder involvement (the Meadow Lake Tribal Council identified Elders as the keepers of traditional knowledge regarding education of the young), language maintenance (although English is the language of instruction), and cultural practices embedded in the curriculum.

Teaching a generative curriculum departs from common classroom experiences found in post-secondary education. The approach is dependent upon students and other community members bringing forward individual as well as traditional perspectives which can then be juxtaposed with other perspectives, stimulating dialogue and reflection. Activities such as role-

plays, small group work, interaction and reflection are used to build an atmosphere of trust, enhance self-esteem and learning.

> The survival and development of the partnership has meant stepping outside expected and typical institutional relationships to identify a common ground of caring, respect, and an interest in innovation upon which the collaborative project could be built (Pence, McCallum,1994).

Critical Appraisal

Dr. Alan Pence summarized his thoughts about the experimental journey through partnership in these words:

> In short, what we have discovered thus far on our shared voyage is the outline of an alternative landscape - a land form influenced by a different set of principles than those we typically experience. It is a landscape that, in my opinion, offers great promise at a time when we need promising alternatives. (Pence, 1994).

The team from the university reiterated the importance of establishing a relationship of equality between both partners. A partnership can easily otherwise slip into an add-on approach. Dr. Jessica Ball (also part of the University of Victoria's First Nations Partnership Program through which the Meadow Lake/UVIC partnership program has evolved) points to the importance of going into a partnership open-minded, without a set agenda: "It is better to go into a partnership with an empty pad of paper, rather than a suitcase full of pre-established, ready-to-go curricula" (personal communication).

Some qualitative observations about the "space created by the program" include the following:

It is a place where:

- students may remain rooted in or near their home community;
- students can apply what they learn, on a daily basis, with their own people;

- students can benefit from a career ladder, in accordance with their life goals and situation;
- both First Nations and mainstream information is valued
- students, Elders and teachers are all instructors and are all learners;
- Elders play a role in contributing to curriculum;
- Strengths, rather than weaknesses, are the starting point for building healthy children.

Some of the challenges to the program's success include balancing the personal and cultural commitments of life in a First Nations community with the academic expectations of student life. Where there may be some flexibility in terms of assignments and completion dates, other externally imposed conditions may create a bind for students. One example could be the lack of accessible childcare while such programs are in an initial stage of development. There are areas where First Nations cultural practices and mainstream practices are incongruent and the student must prioritize her commitments. Generally, the greater the family and community support for the student, the greater the chances of educational success. The program in Meadow Lake was successfully delivered with a 60% completion rate.

Perhaps one of the main qualities of successful partnerships and programming comes from maintaining a sense of comfort with "not knowing" where things are going. As program developers discovered, the absence of maps increased the reliance on the collective creativity, on the vision and the ability to support one another (McCallum and Pence 1994: 119).

Following the initial success with Meadow Lake, the FNPP has started work with another seven communities. Currently the First Nations Partnership Program is working with one Cree community in Saskatchewan and doing a post-service follow up Documentation Project with all seven Aboriginal communities in western Canada. It is through the commitment to the process of creating individualized programs which serve the unique needs of First Nations communities that the FNPP has grown since its first joint educational project. The joint enterprise of community-based early childhood education has had a ripple effect which "enhanced the lives of children, families and other community members in ways which were not fully foreseen".

Ovide Mercredi, (1991) National Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, shared words which were resonant with the spirit of the First Nations Partnership Program:

> When you heal a child, you heal a family;
> When you heal a family, you heal a community;
> When you heal a community, you heal a nation

Nunavut Sivuniksavut Program[10]

The Nunavut Sivuniksavut program (hereafter referred to as the N.S. program) is an example of a small program that responds to the very specific needs of Inuit youth. It is part of the many targeted programs needed to make post-secondary education more of a reality for Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The program was launched in 1985, as an initiative of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), the negotiating body of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement at the time. Its purpose was to train Inuit who would be beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement for positions in the future government and land claim organizations. When TFN changed its name in 1994 to Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, the program became known as the N.S. program. Gradually, the program evolved with a broader focus and it became a more general transition year for Inuit youth. As it stands today, its mandate is to offer "Inuit youth an opportunity to learn about Inuit history, land claims and other issues essential to their future careers in Nunavut, while experiencing the world outside of the North and learning to live successfully on their own".

The N.S. program fills a missing link in the standard educational system. According to a survey undertaken in 1993, 91% of Inuit youth were prepared to leave home to pursue post-secondary education, but 72% indicated the need for a transition year program. The N.S. program receives 40-60 applications each year; there currently are only 20 positions in the program.

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[10] Information for this case study was collected by Kathy Kettler, who carried out extensive interviews with the program instructors as well as former students.

Based on interviews with N.S. program's two main instructors, Murray Angus and Morley Hanson, there are many challenges for Inuit youth arriving from the North. Thus, the N.S. program emphasizes both academic and independent living skill training. Following the eight-month program, the youth are better prepared to live in the South, away from their community and to pursue post-secondary education.

For Murray Angus, a significant part of the program is teaching about the mechanics of life:

> We are a constant presence for the students, that is one of the values of the program. The students know someone is paying attention to them, that they won't fall between the cracks...It is always a challenge, having a lifestyle that supports their learning and that is really preparing them for a post-secondary program (Interview).

As the instructor further explains, acclimatization to the South - which involves managing one's time, expenses, building a healthy lifestyle and making healthy choices - accounts for 40% of a students' learning at N.S.

> One of my biggest concerns was leaving my family. Growing up in a small community, you know everyone around you. You grow up with everyone in the community; you see everything that's happening. You just feel at ease knowing that you're safe with all these people. I was afraid of not knowing anyone in a place like Ottawa. The thought "what if" kept coming up in my mind. I did not feel safe but I always tried to think when I made the choice to come down here to somehow be able to help my people, relates Rita Anilniliak, a former student.

Central to the academic component of the program is teaching about Inuit history, issues and land claims. Students come out of the program knowing about the land they are going to be working and living in, and the institutions available to help them and why they were created. As Murray Angus explains: "people find their own story riveting. It's the first time that students learn that their own story is a legitimate focus for formal education. They love it." A former student from Pond Inlet says:

> The program taught me the history of Nunavut, which I really had no idea of before I took the program. It made me appreciate it even more, thinking that our

> forefathers worked so hard for bringing us to where we are today, and it just made me appreciate it more, and being proud of being an Inuk. It also really opened me up to other options, how our Inuit people struggled to where we are today. It makes me want to further my training.

In 12 years of instruction at N.S., Morley Hanson has observed a shift in the expectations of the students. In the beginning, he noticed that students hoped that it would help them find a job. More recently, students are expressing interest in the program for its educational value: "The message has been getting out through schools and organizations about the need for education, either college or university…So they come here thinking that this would be a step beyond high school before university."

As a result of the greater student interest in pursuing higher education and the requirement of being an accredited program for students to qualify for student funding, the N.S. program has been affiliated to the Aboriginal Section of the Algonquin College in Ottawa. Now all courses offered by N.S. receive accreditation. Although in doing so certain course requirements need to be met, yet the N.S. program remains flexible, with the capacity to adapt its program to the specific needs of Inuit youth. This involves, for instance, spending more time on English. For most Inuit youth, English constitutes a second language, and their writing skills need to be brushed up in order to later succeed at university. Writing is a skill that Rita Anilniliak discovered she enjoyed while going to N.S:

> What I most liked was the writing. I had never studied my own culture, my own people. So many issues I was interested in, but not enough time to write about my opinions, or my feelings. Using writing as a tool to show how the work was affecting me was so much of a challenge. Every word, of each sentence, every sentence of each paragraph, every paragraph of each page was giving me hope that this is how I want to help my people.

In general, N.S. also has leeway in course content and program delivery. According to Morley Hanson, course content is generally discussed with the students.

> "In the early years of the program, there was lots of inventing and re-inventing of the wheel each year. Things like what sort of information we could use,

> what kind of activities we could do and continually seeking out new sources of information to put together for the courses we have now."

The N.S. program also includes special activity days, such as taking a Friday off once a month and going skiing, which is part of the program and part of the opportunity of being in the South. Noticing that usually at the end of November and February students feel homesick and reach a low point, the group goes to a hostel in the countryside for a week, bringing their work with them.

Critical Appraisal

In general, the program has been highly successful, and rates highly amongst former students. "I recommend this to anyone up there in the North. Every Inuk should or deserves to know the history of their own people instead of learning about other people from other places. After having a chance to learn who were the people to bring us Nunavut, I truly believe that everyone deserves to know why we have it today," explains Rita Anilniliak.

Attendance rates are high. An interesting system of penalties and rewards has been established for encouraging attendance, whereby the group enforces the rules. If people are late or absent, they get fined. Every Friday, there is a people's court where people's fines are read. If the defendant wanted to plead innocent, they would stand before the court to make their case. Then, the group would vote. If the reason was deemed acceptable, the defendant won. If the defendant lost, they would have to pay a fine. This money is used for a trip at the end of the year. In the past, these trips have included visiting the Saami in Scandinavia, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth on Vancouver Island and the Maori in Australia. The trips can be a very enriching experience after having gone through a program that affirms the history, experience and culture of the youth. The students are eager to hear about other indigenous peoples' stories.

One of the difficulties for the program has been lack of funding stability. Nunavut Sivuniksavut is still seeking longer-term funding. In previous years, it has happened that the instructors were not sure they could run the program for the entire eight months. Those days are over, as the N.S. program has been newly incorporated. As it stands, the appointed Board is

strongly committed to securing multi-year funding that will allow for long-term planning of the program.

Do students pursue college or university after this program? Morley Hanson explains that only a handful have ended up graduating from university. One of the challenges for the students remains making the transition from the supportive environment provided by N.S. to the university. The students need to be highly independent and ready for the academic challenge. Another issue for students is the reduced amount of funding they would receive if they were to go to university. As N.S. is affiliated with Algonquin College, students automatically receive $675 a month from Student Financial Assistance. Nunavut Sivuniksavut augments that monthly student allowance to $1000 with funding received by Inuit organizations. Scaling down spending habits to attend university is often difficult.

Another factor keeping them out of universities is the abstract nature of university studies. "These are first generation people taking post-secondary steps. There are virtually no models in their community to identify with, people who have gone through that process before", explains Morley Hanson. Besides, many students can get a job in their communities with the education received from the NS program alone. The vast majority of N.S. program graduates are working and very few are unemployed. At this point in time, virtually any Inuk with an education beyond high school can find a job or a training position up North.

The fact that students are not necessarily pursuing higher education after the program points to the challenges that exist for Aboriginal peoples in pursuing higher education. Transition programs may be an essential part of the solution, but are not sufficient. One of the issues that arises is that often in developing strategies for post-secondary education, one also has to deal with filling-in for the failures and weaknesses in the primary and secondary level programs. This is clear from the nature of the academic program and the students comments at Nunavut Sivuniksavut. Transition programs cannot, on their own, realistically address the barriers that prevent Aboriginal peoples to attend post-secondary institutions.

Again, we are reminded that the situation of the Inuit youth is very specific and distinct from other Aboriginal peoples. The Nunavut Sivuniksavut program provides a good example of how these specific needs can be addressed in the education system.

First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia

The First Nations House of Learning (FNHL) at the University of British Columbia's approach to post-secondary education is best described as comprehensive. It relies in different ways and degrees on all the three approaches described earlier.

The seeds from which the First Nations House of Learning germinated lies in a 1984 report on the state of Aboriginal Education at UBC. In this report, co-chairs Verna J. Kirkness and Thomas Berger identified issues of access and curriculum relevancy as key areas requiring attention (see MacIvor 1997). These recommendations would be the basis for establishing that: "The mandate of the First Nations House of Learning is to make the University's vast resources more accessible to First Nations Peoples and to improve the University's ability to meet the needs of First Nations." The First Nations House of Learning was established in 1987. It offers student services such as admissions advocacy, academic and personal counseling, a child-care centre, a library, computer lab, student services, cultural events, and an Elders-in-residence program. The FNHL works with the various faculties to develop programs and courses with for or about First Nations. The FNHL also works with the existing programs such as the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP), Ts''Kel Graduate Studies in Education and First Nations Legal Studies. The FNHL partners with some of the academic units, such as the Office of the Coordinator, Health Sciences to establish the Institute for Aboriginal Health.

Of great importance for coordinating First Nations activities is the existence of a First Nations Longhouse on campus. This provides a visual presence for First Nations on campus, as well as a focal point for carrying out activities. The building was completed in 1993 and now stands as a "home away from home" for First Nations students attending the University of British Columbia. The Longhouse, built on the Musqueam people's Traditional territory, is the first contemporary Westcoast Longhouse constructed as an integral part of a university campus. It's building incorporates such features as Sty-wet-tan- the Great Hall, which contains house posts carved by BC artists, and can welcome 400 people, an Elder's room, administrative offices, a lounge, meeting rooms, childcare centre, library, and computer lab. . The First Nations House of Learning logo represents a human face surrounded by two ravens. The Raven, a symbol of creativity and learning, is also known as a transformer in many First Nations cultures. As represented in the logo, Raven is transforming the university to reflect First Nations cultures and

philosophies, linking the university to First Nations communities. Tsimshian artist Glen Wood created the FNHL logo.

The First Nations House of Learning is involved in a wide-range of activities on campus. It first works to *serve Aboriginal students* in three areas: recruitment, access and support services. In regard to recruitment, the Longhouse disseminates information to First Nations on UBC programs. The FNHL realizes that personal connections are most important in promotion, and therefore staff has been involved in organizing career days and visiting schools. First Nations students attending UBC are the most interesting presenters. They often share their experiences and offer words of encouragement to potential students.

Access is a key issue given the under-representation of First Nations on campus. Some of the degree programs such as the Native Indian Teacher Education Program and the First Nations Legal studies implement broader-based admission criteria, such as work experience and community leadership. Some program areas will set aside a certain number of admissions seats, such as the School of Social Work, Counseling Psychology, and First Nations Legal Studies. In previous years funding was obtained for creating an access program to the professional sciences because of the very low First Nation enrollment in Forestry, Applied Science, Agricultural Science, and Science. In 1997, the UBC Senate approved a new university-wide Aboriginal Admissions Policy based on the university minimum of 67% average for entrance to first year programs and which considered other criteria presented in reference letters. At the same time, the Senate passed a motion to adopt the goal for a *1000 First Nations students by the year 2000.*

Student support services are important in helping First Nations students complete post-secondary education. A wide range of services is provided by the FNHL . The first one being the building itself, which is a place that fosters gathering, learning and sharing. In addition to Longhouse student services the First Nations academic programs offer support in the way their programs are delivered and structured. In the case of the NITEP , for instance, students first attend regional field centers. Students can remain near their home community for the first two years of the program. This type of program service addresses the fact that many Aboriginal students abandon post-secondary programs because of the difficulty of being far away from their home and community.

Another important element of the FNHL is its *connection to the community*. Community consultations, community members sitting on the FNHL Advisory Committee have been some of the ways used. The House of Learning has also been engaged in responding to research needs identified by communities. This has included, helping connect Faculty and students from the different programs to different research initiatives.

A third area of work for the First Nations House of Learning has been *curricular transformation* to enhance relevancy for First Nations. This has required working campus-wide with Faculties, Departments and Schools to incorporate First Nations content across disciplines. The FNHL has worked with the Faculty of Arts to develop a proposal for a Major in First Nations Studies, credit Musqueam Language courses, and a new course about "The Roles of Aboriginal Women in Canada." A number of other Faculties are looking or already have included courses in their program that deal with First Nations issues and perspectives. In existing programs, such as NITEP and First Nations Legal Studies, curricular transformation has been most significant. NITEP courses aim to provide students with an understanding of the socio-historical context as well as tools for transforming education into a context which honours First Nations pedagogy. This program is one example of First Nations control in action. The FNHL advocates the appointment of Aboriginal instructors to develop and deliver courses from Aboriginal perspectives.

Critical Appraisal

According to Dr. Jo-Ann Archibald, FNHL Director, the achievements of the First Nations House of Learning have been significant. Compared to other Canadian universities, the FNHL is leading the way in providing student services and developing academic initiatives that are university-wide. Other campuses have put in place similar models, for instance the University of Toronto, . She considers that the House of Learning's comprehensive approach –whereby the House is involved in curriculum, providing student services, research, and community linkages-- as a model for universities and colleges worldwide.

Although she points out : "it takes a lot of cooperative work, time, effort and energy to make institutional change". UBC has 12 faculties and a number of schools. To work with each of them requires considerable work. A theme of the FNHL is "working together." This approach will

continue to help the FNHL address a recommendation of an external review committee of the First Nations House of Learning that said Indigenous knowledge needed to play a more prominent role across the university campus in terms of research and teaching. Nothing can be achieved overnight. There is a lot of sensitization to be done. Certainly more has been achieved with some faculties than others.

Increasing access to the university has been an important part of the FNHL's work, and this is where the most immediate work still needs to be done. Although the UBC Senate's endorsement of the enrollment goal of 1000 First Nations Students by the year 2000 was an important step, Jo-Ann Archibald remarks "We need to continually address the barriers to access and continually be pro-active. Some of the reasons for not achieving the target number, currently estimated to be 500 are financial and access barriers. Potential students and their communities are becoming more interested in have community-based programs which would alleviate the problems associated with leaving home and community in order to pursue a university degree.

While the UBC First Nations House of Learning considers its community linkages as strong, it recognizes the importance of strengthening and sustaining these relationships. Another theme that has served the FNHL very well has been that "quality education is determined by its relevance to the philosophy and values of First Nations and guided through the voices of the Ancestors." Jo-ann Archibald notes that as the FNHL begins a new millennium, this teaching will continue to form a foundation for its work in future years.

Malaspina University-College

Malaspina University-College is situated on Vancouver Island. As recalls student advisor Fran Tait, when she started working 25 years ago, there were only 11 First Nations students and she was the only FN staff on campus.[11] Her position was created to respond to the fact that in Malaspina catchment area there was a 20% First Nations population, but only a 0.02% representation in the college. The College recognized the need to address the situation and to make community contacts. Later on, the College would have no choice but to take into

[11] Interview Malaspina College (January 12, 2000)

consideration FN as neighbouring bands made greater demands on the College: the bands threatened to send their students elsewhere if the local college did not meet their needs. In the beginning, the College's attitude was: "We hear what you say, and know what you want. We'll do our best".

As Ms. Tait recalls, she had to constantly remind the authorities of the existence of *the Indian Control of Indian Education* policy. This policy was there to stay, and it meant providing FN instructors, counsellors and programs. Things started to happen over time. Where there was only a single Nations staff 25 years ago, now there are a total of 24 First Nations staff and instructors on the four campuses where Malaspina operates. Over the last decade or so, the College has had over 500 First Nations students attending annually. About three-quarters of these students are in academic post-secondary programs, the remaining are in upgrading programs. First Nation students are in all fields, although out of 350 students, for instance, 150 would be in First Nations studies.

The Arts 1 First Nations program was established in 1994 and a B.A. in First Nations Studies introduced in 1996.[12] The development of the Arts 1 program began with a meeting between representatives of the First Nations communities and members of Malaspina-University College. The communities called for a program that would meet their specific needs. The UBC "learning community concepts" was adopted as a model for the program with a strong emphasis on First Nations presence in program decision-making and in the student body, faculty and staff.

The main purpose of Arts 1 program's was to provide first year access to Malaspina University-College for First Nations students. By creating a learning community and fostering collaborative relationships between the students, faculty and support services, students would be better prepared on an educational and personal level to access most career and degree options available within the same university or at other universities. The following elements were implemented to achieve this goal: the program would have a focus on First Nations issues; the majority of faculty and staff would be First Nations; and an elder-in-residence would be available.

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[12] See Nathan Matthew, Malaspina University-College First Nations Studies Review (June 1999)

The Bachelor of Arts in First Nations Studies was established later, with a structure similar to the Arts 1 program. Significant features included establishment of a core program of courses that focussed on First Nations issues, and an internship component in which students could learn while working with First Nations community organizations or businesses.

According to a review of the First Nations Studies programs, the enrolment in both programs has been good, but not to capacity. There is some concern that the First Nations BA program is too general. At graduation, students do not have specific skills to enter the job market. In the student's assessment of the program, the role of the elder in residence was identified as the most successful part of the program. With regard to the instructors, there has been some concern about the rapid turnover.

In the First Nations Studies review's conclusion, the diminished relationship between Malaspina-College and the First Nations communities is identified as the major impediment to future growth. In the beginning, First Nations representatives were central in shaping the program elements, and fully involved in hiring faculty and staff.

> First Nations community representatives are frustrated with their decreased role in program management and development. Many feel that the original spirit and intent of their participation as "partners" has disappeared. First Nations aspirations in self-government is seen by First Nations representatives as an issue that must be addressed.(Matthew 1999:7).

This raises the issue of how to sustain meaningful partnership between a post-secondary institution and First Nations communities.

Another issue that has arisen relates to the institution itself. The growth and maturation of the College has institutionalized much of the decision-making, and less time is devoted to First Nations issues. This also affects decision-making related to funding -- an important consideration when there are general funding cut backs.

Nonetheless, in retrospective Fran Tait considers that Malaspina has done well in supporting *Indian Control of Indian Education*. This is indicated by the number of First Nations instructors, the presence of an elder-in-residence, the contacts established with the community and the existence of a First Nations Studies program.

A concern for those working with First Nations students on campus remains completion and success rates. According to Ms Tait, out of 100 students in a given semester approximately 50 to 60 will continue the next semester. The rest will have changed institutions, returned to upgrading or simply dropped-out. The realization that better skills in math or English are required is often an element.

To put an end to students remaining at school with failing grades, a probation policy has been enforced at Malaspina. In a given semester, out of 350 students 55 will receive a probation letter if they have less than a C average. They are given one semester to bring up their average. If this does not happen, they must leave the college for at least a semester. The policy has proven to be effective. In order to encourage succeeding students, a congratulation letter is sent out to every First Nations student with a B average or above. Approximately 50 out of the 350 pursuing an academic program are expected to receive this letter. These figures suggest that many students arrive at the post-secondary level without the conditions (i.e. the skills, the support and the preparation) to succeed. According to Fran Tait, for some, "education is often not the prime reason to come to school – they come to school to pay the rent, or because their best-friend is coming. When they come and see me there has often been no serious attempt to work out their education goal." This changes once students have made the commitment to higher education; it often takes a while and will not be the case for everyone.

Saanich Adult Education Center

The Saanich Adult Education Centre sits on the territory of the Saanich people on Vancouver Island in British Columbia. It is a good example of a locally- controlled post-secondary institution that has established a small-scale Adult Education to respond to the communities' specific needs. The Centre and the tribal school - with grades K to 9 - is overseen by the Saanich Indian School Board, with representative members of each of the four Saanich communities.

At present, 23 community representatives sit on the Board. As explains Conrad Vanderkamp, administrator: "the system works well. This is the meeting place where community councilors come together most consistently. It allows for a lot of discussion and information-sharing happening on an ongoing basis regarding issues that affect the community" (personal communication). Moreover, despite the representation of four bands on the board, there has been

success in overseeing the political differentiation imposed by DIAND in separating the Saanich people.

The director of the Adult Education Centre is accountable to the Board, which oversees policy development and budget. Any decision pertaining to the Centre requires a quorum. The programs operated by the Adult Centre include basic job development, adult basic education and the First Nations Family Support Worker certificate which is delivered in partnership with Camosun College. More recently, the Centre has started a program called step. The program is quite unique – it is individualized and molded to provide the skills and pre-requisites needed for a specific career choice. It also allows students to move rapidly at their own pace. Fran Hunt-Jinnouchi, Director of the Saanich Adult Education Centre, says the entry level of the step program is equivalent to grades 8, 9 and 10, and steps 3 and 4 to grades 9-10-11. An important reason for putting the program in place is to deal with the lack of bridging between programs, and the fact many students arriving at the Centre are lacking such basic skills as literacy. Evidently the program is meeting a need --out of 100 people going back to school, 60 register at the step 1 level.

According to Ms. Hunt-Jinnouchi, the success of a program in a community depends little on its capacity for promotion. Success rather is linked to the capacity of the Centre to create a safe environment, allow for language training, foster community linkages and provide easy access to staff. She feels that the most successful recruitment strategy is probably through word-of-mouth.

Critical Appraisal

Some of the problems the Centre deals with include planning and management of programs. At present, the Centre oversees the delivery of the First Nations Support Worker program in partnership with Camosun College. Each year an average of 25 students register in the program. Although these students are First Nations, the majority do not come from the four Saanich communities. Ms. Hunt-Jinnouchi questions whether the program really meets the community needs. An ongoing concern for any community program is also the number of people a community wants to be trained in a single field. Ms. Hunt-Jinnouchi sees offering entrepreneurship skills to community members as an avenue to encourage. She has been

delivering night courses to community members in order to encourage them to foster small development businesses.

In general, she remarks that the leaders of the community have not visited the Centre to start planning, managing and setting educational goals for the community. Instead, significant emphasis is placed on short-term programming –mostly band-aid training. Since she is herself a Kwagiulth, she feels that somebody from the Saanich community should be trained to replace her position.

Another issue for the Adult Centre relates to the students themselves. In general, students arrive unprepared. Most have no established career goal, and have not thought about the pre-requisites and skills needed to pursue a career. In a session with grades 7 to 9 at the tribal school, only 8 out of 20 students could indicate a career goal. According to the teachers, in a non-native class probably most students would have something to say. A lack of role models contributes to the students' difficulty in seeing themselves in a career in the future.

A major impediment to success continues to be attendance rates. The causes include lack of child-care, transportation and alcoholism. The Centre has addressed the problem of child-care - a real need given the fact that they are dealing with families and single mothers. The median age of those attending the Centre is 25 years and the average student has three children.

A major limitation for the Centre's development is funding. The Centre receives no core funding from the government; it is entirely project funded. Some of the post-secondary dollars of the community feed into the Centre to cover administrative personnel expenses, but the programs as such are proposal-driven. This leads to uncertainty and impedes on the First Nations control.

Ms. Hunt-Jinnouchi feels strongly that First Nations Education Centers such as this one are essential to prepare students for higher education, students that the public system and residential schools have failed. "If we didn't do it many students would not return to school." The type of program provided by the Adult Centre acts as a bridge between the community and college or university. It is essential in both providing the formal and informal training to prepare students for higher education.

Ultimately, the success of the Adult Centre has depended on the personnel running it. As Mr. Vanderkamp explains, one of the problems with the School Board is their limited understanding

of how a school actually operated. Many of the Board members themselves dropped-out of school, or are still wrestling with the scars of residential school. The Board's capacity to provide direction and leadership to programming is limited.

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

The case studies point out the different needs of programming for post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples, as well provide a sample of the type of initiatives that have been put in place in Canada. In assessing the situation of post-secondary education for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada as a whole, three issues and challenges have been identified as central. These relate to access and completion rates, the *Indian Control of Indian Education*, and finally relevance.

Access and Completion Rates

Despite increases in the number of Aboriginal students attending post-secondary programs, the issue of access continues to be significant. According to the literature, some of the issues that constitute obstacles for Aboriginal students are:

- the nature of the K-12 schooling system;
- low expectations of Aboriginal students;
- inadequate financial support;
- racism and experiences with the educational system that have resulted in low self-esteem, low skills development, and emotional barriers;
- stress related to relocating e.g. finding housing, moving away from family, feeling unsupported;
- curriculum which does not reflect Aboriginal culture; programs which ignore Aboriginal perspectives, values and issues, and do not prepare students for the environments they will be working in;

- lack of support services;
- not feeling any ownership or control with regard to the education process.

The first point reminds us that the needs of post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples are in part defined by the failures of the K to 12 schooling system. The fact that many Aboriginal students drop out before grade 12, or go through the system without acquiring skills to successfully pursue post-secondary education are realities that post-secondary institutions need to address. It will mean, for instance, that upgrading programs are required. The catching-up may involve acquiring both academic training as well study skills necessary for success in the formal education system. The Saanich Adult Education Centre is an example of an institution established to respond to this need.

Many First Nations educators and programmers raised the unpreparedness of First Nation students to undertake post-secondary education. As advisor at Malaspina University-College, Ms Tait explains that often prospective students visit her without having even thought about the program that they are interested in (personal communication). She estimates that only one out of 25 students will return to visit her after she has asked them to seriously reflect on their program of interest. Many have been out of school from anywhere between one and four years. When they inquire about undertaking a post-secondary program, they are often missing the minimum entry grades, or grade 12 English and Math. "They don't have the skills to survive in a post-secondary program". Most need to be looking into a minimum of a year to polish their skills before starting on a degree. Not all are ready to make the commitment in terms of time and focus to succeed academically.

These conditions are related to the situation in the public primary and secondary school system. The Sal'i'shan Institute conducted a committee report on post secondary education for Native learners in which it addresses the issue of under-representation of First Nations and Metis in teaching. The research indicates that there are definite obstacles that prevent these groups from reaching post-secondary education. These are listed as : "geographic, financial, cultural/social, program and governance."

The report concludes that:

> institutional racism is a fact in the lives of First Nations peoples. It is experienced in the schools, places of work, in the universities, and the streets of the country (Salishan Institute Report 1990: 3).

It is clear that racism impedes any approach to First Nations education. Indeed, First Nations people are still coping with, and healing from, the effects of racism endured since the time of European contact. Despite positive changes, many Aboriginal peoples still feel alienated from their own culture, and live their life as second class citizens in a mainstream Euro-Canadian world.

Closely related to access is program completion. Whereas attending a university or college is an important step, completing a program is another. Of those Aboriginal students who commence university studies about a quarter earn a degree compared to about half of the non-Aboriginal students (Armstrong et al. 1990: 12). Many students dropout of programs entirely, some return after a semester or two and some change programs. The reasons are various. They can include "lack or inadequate funding", "mismanagement of time", "falling in love", "death or birth of a close one". It is clear that skills to survive in a program are not only academic, they include knowing how to work independently as well as work in a team.

As discussed in the case studies, attendance is another factor that impedes success and capacity to complete a program. Many of the reasons for low attendance are related to the problems of abuse (i.e. alcoholism) that characterize many First Nations communities today. Students as a disincentive for commitment have also identified lack of community support for pursuing higher education. In a students'words:

> when we go home, we're almost ostracized. We implore our local population to give us their emotional support, because all the education in the world isn'tgoing to help us get through unless we have our spiritual, traditional and emotional roots intact (AFN 1993: 30).

The perceived lack of support is related to the remnants of the residential schools and years of education being synonymous to assimilation. This past does not disappear overnight.

While access remains a critical issue, the principles of the *Indian control of Indian education* continue to be at the forefront of any assessment of post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples.

Indian Control of Indian Education

As illustrated in the case studies, Indian control is essential to respond to the specific needs of Aboriginal peoples both in regard to program delivery and content. Despite improvements in the area of Aboriginal control, the devolution of control of Aboriginal education from education authorities to the communities remains a slow process. The difficulties are in part due to the federal government's interpretation or perception of "Indian control" which seems to be confined to administrative control over programs, rather than focusing on a restructuring or redefinition of Indian education.

In discussing the current status quo with regard to Aboriginal education and the way in which the past has impacted upon it, Battiste describes it by saying:

> Clearly, education in Aboriginal communities is as distinctive as are those communities and their languages... Provinces have controlled education and curricula for the last century, and it is difficult if not impossible, for Aboriginal education to achieve complete change in twenty years. The questions about education continue, the debate and doubts linger, and the funds and resources to achieve new ends continue to dwindle (Battiste 1995: 14).

Limited resources as well as general insistence by the government that institutions conform to provincial regulations have been other factors which have led to restrictions in terms of curriculum development, flexibility and capacity to address the special educational needs of First Nations individuals and communities. This is well illustrated in the 1994 agreement between the Mi'kmaq Education authority and federal authorities. The purpose of the agreement was to enable communities to exercise jurisdiction in relation to education. However, as Battiste explains due to the federal government's insistence that schools adopt the provincial curricula

as their foundation curricula, it is still being developed "in English and outside the Mi'kmaq context, consequently the Mi'kmaq curricula will become add-on and will not be the source of "educational development for Aboriginal knowledge and humanity" (1995: 20). The significance of *Indian control of Indian education* is only beginning to be understood. Structural and societal changes are required if the situation is to improve significantly for Aboriginal peoples.

Some of the pending issues have been outlined in *Tradition and Education: Towards A Vision Of Our Future*, (1988), a declaration of First Nations' jurisdiction over education, which was presented by the Educational Secretariat of the Assembly of First Nations. Educational needs and issues that needed to be addressed include: financial assistance and training for First Nations teachers; more university-based teacher education programs as well as satellite and extension programs in First Nations communities, an information-sharing network for dealing with and developing post-secondary education issues. More recent resolutions by the Assembly of First Nations are similar (see AFN resolution No. 23/98) In fact, many of the issues identified are the same as those articulated 25 years ago in the *Indian Control of Indian Education*. It is suggested that the government of Canada had failed to implement the 1973 policy statement.

Recommendations by the RCAP (1996) in the area of post-secondary education also indicate that many of the needs identified 25 years ago remain. Governments and post-secondary institutions are/have been working towards meeting some needs, but many are yet to be fully met:

Aboriginal leaders who signed treaties earlier in our history sought education that would give their children the knowledge and skills to participate as equals in the Canadian economy then emerging. We are still far from realizing that goal. We have not achieved equal opportunity or equal results in the post-secondary education now available to Aboriginal people (RCAP 1996 V.3: 501).

Today those who work in the area of adult and post-secondary education for Aboriginal Peoples identify the following obstacles:

- the absence of Aboriginal control over the design of the program;
- fragmented, project-by-project funding for programs;
- fragmented funding sources for student training allowances;
- inadequate community facilities to support programs;

- arbitrary separation of literacy, adult basic education, and academic upgrading from job training services (RCAP 1996: 503).

While the Canadian government has impeded *Indian Control of Indian Education*, First Nations working in education also question their leaders on their role in providing direction to Indian Control. In the face of land claims and treaty negotiations, education has often been placed on the back burner; insufficient attention has been given to ensure that the education of Aboriginal peoples meets the future needs of the community. According to First Nations educators, settlement for self-government should go hand-in-hand with programming and planning in education.

> There is always a tug of war between education, social and economic development - even within our own leadership. There is not enough long-term planning and management, only piece-meal solutions. Without community people being trained, how are we going to manage our self-government?

This leads us to the issue of program relevance, and how Indian control of education succeeds in bringing into practice the "Indian Philosophy of Education", as stated in the 1973 policy statement.

Relevance

The issue of relevance is raised differently by First Nations educators and programmers but is becoming central to the thinking behind programming in post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples. According to Dr. Archibald, Director of the UBC House of Learning:

> People are not looking for whatever course, they are also looking for relevance regarding aboriginal issues and approaches. We are only beginning to look and understand the implications of First Nations knowledge.

For Bill White, a central issue that Aboriginal organizations need to wrestle with, is whether a six year academic training program is preparing Aboriginal peoples to return to communities and put in place systems that support their culture?

> We have a greater number of students attending university, but that is not all we need. Treaty groups, FN organization have to deal with the repercussions of horrendous state discrimination and the affects this had within all our communities. For this, we really need individuals who understand the history of what has happened, and are able to match these understandings, and the skills of working in particular with the Elder people with their degrees (personal communication).

He believes that the post-secondary system, for the most part, teaches students to be independent, individualistic and highly competitive. If students have no strong cultural background prior to receiving this academic training, the students lose touch with their own values and teachings.

Amongst the many challenges is the very nature of the different fields of study, and their "compatibility" with the Aboriginal perspective. "The old people taught you to look at the world in a holistic way. Fields such as economics, politics, engineering and computer science train you to look at things in a segmented way" (personal communication). The question of compatibility appears to be most pertinent in the hard core sciences. This probably accounts for the fact that the lowest participation rate of First Nations is found in agriculture, biological sciences, mathematics and the physical sciences (DIAND 1996).

A central element required is innovation. Bill White warns against false innovation; he says true innovation requires an academic leap in the system. According to White, this started a while ago but was interrupted:

> The innovation that began in 1972 dealt with the preparation of professionals, students and working with the holistic nature of the child, family and the community. Innovations to develop Indian Education teaching programs, law and social work approaches began in the 70s but these innovations fell through in 1981 in part because of fiscal restraints (personal communication).

At the centre of innovation is integrating traditional knowledge into the curriculum. Incorporating traditional knowledge in Aboriginal curricula is a key factor in strengthening Aboriginal cultural pride and developing culturally relevant educational programs. Many institutions are working on incorporating traditional knowledge in curriculum development.

The Unit for Research and Education on the Rights of the Child (URECRC) at the University of Victoria has been working since 1994 with the University's Aboriginal Liaison Office to strengthen the voice of traditional indigenous experts (Elders) in curriculum development. Specifically URECRC has been engaged in a series of Child Rights Curricular partnerships with local Coast Salish and Kwagiulth communities. These partnerships involve Elders and other community members in co-developing curricula that blends traditional knowledge supporting children with international human rights treaties, in particular the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

A central element of recognizing traditional knowledge is involving elders. There are a number of ways this needs to happen. In the first place, elders' knowledge needs to be given the same value as that of academically trained professors. In some programs, elders are involved but no formal credit is given to the learning happening with the elder. This suggests to the students that the elder's knowledge is less important to their success.

Also important is providing elders-in-residence. This helps students on a university or college campus to deal with some of the issues they are facing (i.e. being far from home, racism). Elders can also help the students connect with their culture. In general, they can provide stability, echoing the teachings to help overcome academic challenges. Finally, elders need to be involved in the development of curriculum. This means that curriculum is developed in conjunction with elders, and professors are actually obliged to wrestle with the outcomes of traditional knowledge and to think how students can academically be prepared to work with their own culture.

The recent inauguration of a Ph. D. program in Native Studies at Trent University is welcomed as part of the overall effort to integrate Indigenous and Western knowledge. Central to the program is the objective of developing innovative theoretical approaches, methodologies and research tools appropriate for Aboriginal communities and organizations. Similarly steps have been taken in law.

Despite some successful experiences, much work is still needed. Incorporating traditional knowledge into the curriculum in significant ways requires questioning many of the precepts of education as they are viewed by Western institutions. In a meeting on Vancouver Island of

educators involved in providing post-secondary education for First Nations students, the issue of meaningfully involving elders in the entire education process was identified as a challenge.[13] Also discussed was the difficulty of evaluating students. It is not easy to meet the grading needs of formal education while at the same time integrating aboriginal ways of learning, which emphasize oral history and experiential learning, for instance.

While putting in place curricula that reflect aboriginal ways of learning, FN educators warn against promoting a pan-Indian perspective. As discussed earlier, Canadian Aboriginal peoples are culturally distinct. While program principles and approaches can be shared, it is not always clear that curriculum as such can be transferred.

Another issue that arises when putting forward alternative education approaches is that of standards and flexibility. While there is a strong consensus in the literature that multiple barriers to education programs exist for First Nations people (Barber, 1986; Battiste, 1995; D'Arcy, 1993; Haig-Brown, 1995; Lockhart, 1986; McCaskill, 1986), attempts to redress the educational obstacles for First Nations people have often met with accusations of lowering standards and offering preferential treatment to Aboriginal students. Some hold fast to time-honoured university practices: this includes defending pre-established canons of literature against 'add-ons' to appease minority groups and upholding standardized admission and program requirements for all students. Specific programs, such as the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) model has been criticized by conventional standards. It has been suggested that such models lower the training of Aboriginal students and thus create a gap between Native and non-Native teachers.

The literature and discussions with First Nation educators suggest that first-rate education can be delivered while offering culturally sensitive programs. It is in offering innovative and creative programs that provide relevant curriculum that the most success will be achieved amongst First Nation students both in regard to access and completion rates.

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[13] See meeting notes.

CONCLUSION

Post-secondary-education for Aboriginal peoples in Canada has gone a long way in the last thirty years; moving away from the assimilation policies that governed school programming for Aboriginal peoples until the 1970s, to putting in place programs that are First Nations' controlled. Not only have residential schools been dismantled but their spirit and intent has been condemned.

The continuous developments in post-secondary education across the country have gone hand-in-hand with political developments. As Aboriginal peoples organize and articulate their demands, the government has been obliged to meet requests put forward by Indian organizations. The 1972 *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy statement, presented by the National Indian Brotherhood, set the standard for the intent and nature of education for Aboriginal peoples. Most documents since, such as reports by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the Assembly of First Nations, have rearticulated the vision and needs laid out in this policy statement.

Throughout this research, the amount of thought, effort and expertise that has gone into putting in place programming that will meet the needs of Aboriginal individuals and communities, and remediate the dismal legacy of past educational practices for Canada's Native peoples stands out. The add-on, partnership and First Nations control approaches that have resulted from these efforts have in retrospective all played a role in the movement towards quality First Nations education.

The add on approach opens the door to change very slowly by not requiring any structural change, but only introducing information that may lead to transforming attitudes. The partnership approach allows Aboriginal communities to work together with established accredited institutions to deliver quality, often culturally-relevant programming, without having to "start from scratch" in developing educational institutions and programs to serve their people. The First Nations Control approach ensures that Aboriginals set the program and structure. While all these approaches are used in Canada, supporting post-secondary-education for Aboriginal peoples has also been about providing targeted support services (elders-in-residence, councilors, child-care) in mainstream institutions.

The case studies presented suggest that in practice the approaches are often integrated, and that the type of approach implemented depends on the educational needs of a community. First Nation controlled programs have been important, for instance, to deliver bridging programs --for the many Aboriginal students who have dropped-out of secondary education and who want to return to college or university but lack both the academic and life skills for realizing this goal.

While new programs have been put in place, many First Nation educators and programmers wrestle with identifying and putting into practice the goals of First Nations' education. The issue of relevance remains at the centre-stage of the debate; questions are still being posed, and answers being put forward. Many are concerned that higher education be both about providing marketable skills and "cultural-community" skills; that education improves peoples' capacity to strengthen culture and not only be about employment and earning higher incomes.

An important barrier to achieving the goals of First Nations' education is the continual control of the federal government. While steps have been made to devolve authority to local First Nation authorities, the federal government continues to keep control by setting education standards and budget lines. There is a sense that until education is recognized as a treaty right, the government will hold its imperative status. While the attitude of the federal government needs to change, it is also felt that significant change needs to take place in the Canadian society at large. Implementing the vision for post-secondary education for Aboriginal peoples laid out in the 1972 policy statement requires societal change. This includes non-Aboriginal people learning about Aboriginal cultures, addressing the issue of racism and including more Aboriginal content into mainstream curriculum.

At the threshold of the new millennium, there is a constantly expanding need for trained Aboriginal experts who can assume positions of responsibility and leadership at local, provincial and national level. They need to be involved in a number of areas: building community infrastructure for self-government, researching land claims, contributing to the revitalization of Aboriginal culture and enhancing languages. Innovation in programming is the key to realizing this goal. While this is happening, it is still on a small-scale and at the stage of trial-and-error. Besides no change can happen overnight for the decades of colonialist policies have left deep scars that impact on all programming for First Nations.

A First Nation educator reminds us:

> Although the education of our people has not been entirely one of gloom and doom, at least over the last 25 years, we are still faced with the monumental challenge of creating a meaningful education that will not only give hope, but a promise of a better life for our future generations (Kirkness 1997: 10).

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ANNEX

ABORIGINAL PROGRAMS IN CANADA

The following is a short description of the programs and services being offered by a sample of Aboriginal controlled institutions in Canada.[1] The programs described are not an exhaustive listing of available programs.

Type 1 - Full-fledged Aboriginal Colleges and Educational Institutions

1.1. Saskatchewan Indian Federated College

Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC) is the First Nations controlled university college recognized by the Canadian Association of Universities and Colleges. In opening its door in 1976, it had less than 20 students, now there are close to 2000 students on three campuses and 19 community programs. When the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations entered into a partnership with the University of Regina, the college has approximately 60 full-time faculty and offers degree and certificate programs in a variety of faculties and disciplines. As well as the University of Regina campus, the college also has a campus in Saskatoon and the Northern Campus in Prince Albert offers off-campus programming to First Nations communities, either face to face in accessible communities or where this is impossible by Saskatchewan Telecommunications Network. SIFC offers its own bachelor programs which include: Bachelor of Arts (students can major in Cree/Ojibway, Indian Studies, Indian Art or Indian Fine Arts; Bachelor of Education - Elementary (Indian Education) or Bachelor of Science; Bachelor of Applied Science; and Bachelor of Administration. It also offers certificate courses in: Indigenous Business Administration; Indian Health Studies; First Nations Banking Administration; and

[1] The following information was gathered by Lisa Albion. Most of the information comes from the Royal Commission reports , websites on the program, or promotional material sent by the institutes.

Indian Social Work. University entrance programs and certificates in a variety of fields are offered through the northern campus. All courses are provincially accredited through an agreement with the university of Regina.

Support services offered by SFIC include: resident Elders; counseling services; tutoring and writing clinics; cultural workshops; and first year services.

1.2 The Institute of Indigenous Government

The Institute of Indigenous Government (IIG) was established in 1995 following the 23rd Annual Assembly of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) when a resolution was passed directing the UBCIC to develop an indigenous-controlled post-secondary institution. The mission of the Institute of Indigenous Government is to provide an accredited specialized program of post-secondary education, skills-training, and research opportunities dedicated to empowering Indigenous people to exercise effectively their right of self-determination, in their territories, in ways which fully reflect Indigenous philosophy, values, and experience throughout the world.

Governance for the IIG is provided by a Board of Directors, with a minimum of 8 and a maximum of 23 representatives of the Aboriginal people in British Columbia, appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council upon nomination by the UBCIC. In addition the UBCIC Chief's Council appoints an Elder Senate "to advise the Board about the Indian way".

The IIG's overall program focus is Indigenous Governments Studies, with four principal areas of specialization identified, including: political development and leadership, Indigenous Government Administration, Economic and Social Development, and International Indigenous Relations. Plans anticipate the delivery of four distinct program streams, including a general community-based and delivered program of credit and non-credit courses, a one-year certificate program, a two-year program leading to an Associate Degree in Indigenous Government Studies and a four-year program leading to a Baccalaureate in Indigenous Government Studies.

1.3. Yellowquill College

Yellowquill College is the first Native controlled post-secondary institution in Manitoba. The College is a visible manifestation of the concept of Indian Education. The institutional philosophy is based on the following beliefs and principles:

(1) The education of Native people is both the right and the responsibility of Native people.

(2) Native people are capable of determining their own educational needs and planning courses of study to meet these needs.

(3) Native people have the leadership and knowledge needed to implement and maintain an effective post-secondary institution.

(4) The Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council has accepted the obligation of administering the funds provided by the government of Canada for the education of adult Native people.

Yellowquill College, named after Chief Yellowquill, was founded in 1984 by the Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council. After its use as a residential school until 1974 the building and surrounding acreage were turned over to the Long Plain Band. Although still owned by the long Plain Band, the college is administered under the auspices of the DOTC Board of Directors.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) provided the initial planning grant to establish the college. Since its establishment over 600 students have graduated from a variety of programs. A number of ten-month and two-year programs are offered at the campus in Portage la Prairie. These include a College Entrance Preparation Program, a University

Entrance Preparation Program and a diploma program in Business Administration. Other programs are offered at a satellite campus in Winnipeg including a Social Development Management Program, a Community Health and Human Resources Program, a First Nations Governance Program, and a program in First Nations Health. Management. Development Certificate and Diploma, Child Care, and First Nations Health Management. Yellowquill College offers a Community Wellness Diploma Program at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. Sixty credit hours of this program are fully transferable to a Bachelor of Social Work.

1.4. Yellowhead Tribal Council Education Program - Alberta

Yellowhead Tribal Council Education Program originated out of a need for locally controlled community-based programs. This Program serves the post-secondary needs of its five member nations through the provision of a variety of on-site programs. These include university and college entrance preparation programs as well as, in partnership with established Universities and Colleges, a number of one-year certificate programs which are offered and adapted to meet the needs of the communities. Examples of programs delivered through such partnerships include: a university transfer program with the University of Alberta and Athabasca University; a health development administration program with Athabasca University; a Bachelor of Social Work program with the University of Calgary; a Social Work diploma with Grand McEwan Community College, and a Business Administration certificate program with Athabasca University. Support services and facilities offered by the Program include a computer laboratory, student lounge, tutoring, financial and peer counseling and financial support.

1.5. Gabriel Dumont Institute - Saskatchewan

Gabriel Dumont Institute, named after a historical Metis leader, offers the first two years of a Bachelor of Arts and Science degree. Courses are available to Metis and non-Metis people, who meet the entrance requirements and are accepted by the college. Programs offered by the Gabriel Dumont Institute and College are both community-based and include the following features: preparatory or upgrading courses run together with regular programming when the courses begin; sensitivity to Metis culture including Metis studies programming; an integrated practicum phase

whenever possible; fully accredited and recognized programming. Academic and personal support is also offered as part of the institute's mandate to serve the Metis population.

1.6. Asokan

The Asokan program is a post-secondary partnership between the Women of the Metis Nation (Alberta) and the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT). It is a Business Administration program designed by a committee of Metis women in 1989/90 and is geared to meet the specific needs of this population. The program relies upon female Metis instructors and the language of instruction is English.

The Asokan (meaning "bridge" in Cree) is a 10 month certificate program which may be carried on to a one or two year diploma program. The participants are subsidized by Human Resources Canada and are provided with funding for tuition and textbooks as well as a training allowance and childcare allowance for children less than thirteen years. The program can accommodate twenty women at a time. There is a work experience component to the program and these employers often hire the women.

1.7. Nunavik

In Nunavik, where the Kativik school board has been responsible for adult education and job market training, observable success has been achieved. By exercising the control over these services school authorities have been successfully in blending academic and job skills creatively responding to the needs of the adults they serve. Literacy is offered in English, French and an Aboriginal language.[2]

Type 2 - The Enclave Model

2.1. The School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta

There is a similar model offered at the University of Alberta under the auspices of the School of Native Studies. Although its residence is not as formally separate as the First Nations longhouse

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[2] Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, p. 503

at the University of British Columbia, it is a program independent from the faculty of Arts. In response to the recommendations of a task force regarding improved service to Aboriginal students, the School of Native Studies was formed in 1998. The School was formed by a committee of faculty and students and representatives of the Native community at large. The courses offered in the School are divided into four curriculum areas of Native issues: land and resources; self-governance; language and culture; and community-based research and applied skills.

There is a similar First Nations Studies Program offered at the University of Northern British Columbia. The region served by this institution includes the territories of 16 Tribal Councils, 77 bands, four Metis organizations and 10 Friendship Centres. The First Nations Studies program "takes the points of view of First Nations people and communities as the starting point for description and analysis, and contextualizes issues from this perspective."[3] Courses leading to an undergraduate or graduate degree are offered. The First Nations learning centre at UNBC includes a drop-in space for Aboriginal Studies as well as services in counseling, study skills, and cultural programming. Courses are designed and delivered by a combination of Native and non-Native instructors and consultants.

The Bachelor of Arts in Native Studies/Education, and Bachelor of Arts in Native Studies (honours) incorporate the themes of respect for Indigenous knowledge systems including languages, cultures and philosophies and the theme of excellence in research.

> Together these themes allow the School of Native Studies to develop a research capability to address issues affecting Indian Inuit, and Metis people today. In this context, the student's program of study centres on developing knowledge and analytical and research skills suited to address current Native issues.[4]

The schools courses are interdisciplinary and grouped in the following key areas of study: land and resources, language and culture, self-governance, and community-based research and

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[3] This source is taken from the website http://quarles.unbc.ca/first/prog1.html The First Nations Studies Program and UNBC

[4] This information is taken from personal communication with Bev Findlay, Administrative Assistant in the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta, August 1999

applied skills. Both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people design the courses. The language of instruction is English although language courses have Cree content. The program is governed by a the School Council which strikes a balance between the needs of the University community and the Native community - needs which are viewed as complimentary. The Native community was given strong representation on the School Council and was recognized as a vital component of program success.

2.2. First Nations House at the University of Toronto

First Nations House and Office provides culturally supportive student services and programs to Aboriginal students at the University of Toronto. It provides a "home for Aboriginal people on campus, a place for the Native community in Toronto to interface with the University, and a place where the University community can learn about Native people."[5] The services offered here include financial assistance, cultural events and programs, Elder-In-Residence, visiting Elder program, book exchange, social and recreational events, counseling, Native student employment and Native cultural Awareness Training. Students would take courses along with the mainstream university population, but are offered an enclave for specific services and a drop-in place.

2.3. Nunavut Arctic College

Nunavut Arctic College serves a population of 22,000 spread out over the newly established Nunavut Territory. The College has three campuses in the three major regions of Nunavut and 26 Community Learning Centres. The learning centres are the key element of the College's community-based approach to education. Currently over 1,000 full and part time students are enrolled in programs ranging from General Interest through Certificate and Diploma level to University degree programs. These include Adult Basic Education, Education, Fine Arts and Crafts, Business and Public Administration, Resource Management and a Teacher Education Program.

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[5] This source can be found at website http://www.library.utoronto.ca/equity/fnh.htm First Nations House & Office of Aboriginal Student Services and Programs

Nunavut Arctic College's teacher education program is run by professor Peesee Pitsiulak, the first Inuk to occupy the desk since 1977. There are presently 43 students enrolled, half of which are at the main Nanatta Campus in Iqualuit and the others are spread between two community based programs in Pond Inlet and Coral Harbour. The program emphasizes a cultural content intended to turn out teachers who are "confident in their own language, history, culture, and in knowing who they are..."[6] Since Pitsiulak has taken the position of principal the Aboriginal cultural sensitivity of the program has increased. Today more Elders are invited to the classroom to speak about Inuit traditions and values, or to simply be there for the students. There has been a shift away from general education issues to a focus on Inuit culture. Presently half the full time instructors are Inuit.

2.4. Masters of Arts in Indigenous Governance Program

The University of Victoria offers an Aboriginally-directed Masters Programs in Indigenous Governance. The program director is an Aboriginal professor and the courses are designed from an Aboriginal perspective. Students are provided with a "strong background in values, perspectives, concepts and principles of indigenous political cultures."[7] The MAIG is an interdisciplinary program includes scholarly research and a path to understanding government and politics among indigenous peoples. There is a special emphasis on the nature and context of indigenous governments in Canada.

Type 3 - Aboriginal Learning Centres

3.1. Chemainus Native College

Chemainus Native College is located in Hul'Qumi'num territory on southeastern Vancouver Island in British Columbia. It has been in operation for twelve years and shares a common campus with its sister institution Stu''ate Lelum Secondary School. These schools were designed to provide students with a friendly and supportive Aboriginal learning environment. The school

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[6] This information was found in Up Here, April 1999.

[7] This information is taken from http://web.uvic.ca/igov/maig.html

serves First Nations, Inuit and Metis students and focuses on developing "the skills necessary for further education or gainful employment."[8]

Chemainus Native College offers a certificate and diploma program in Business Management, and the Native Adult Instructor Diploma. The college also offers a program in Community Economic Development in affiliation with the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology.

The college also offers student services such as a free bus service for students.

Type 4 - Non-Profit Educational Institutions

4.1. The Centre For Indigenous Theatre - Toronto Ontario

The Centre for Indigenous Theatre is a non-profit educational organization providing training in the field of Aboriginal theatre. Its goals are to educate, network and create positive role modeling in the field of theatre, film and television for persons of Aboriginal, Metis and Inuit descent. The programming at the Centre for Indigenous Theatre is designed and delivered by Aboriginal people, often well-known performance artists and writers. It offers a full time eight-month program in Aboriginal performance that combines contemporary theatre techniques and traditional Aboriginal teachings.

4.2. The First Nations Technical Institute in Tyendinaga Ontario

This institute was established in 1985. It is an Aboriginally owned and operated non-profit education and training centre. A wide range of accredited and non-accredited post-secondary programs are offered. Diploma programs in Human Services include: Social Service Worker - Welfare Administrator; Native Child and Family Services - Community Worker; Addictions; Recreation Leadership; and Facilitative Leadership. These programs are delivered in 12-week sessions with a support system between sessions. During the 12-week intensive sessions two college credits are given. Courses are delivered at various sites throughout Ontario. One-year certificate programs in other related fields such as Native Literacy Worker are also available.

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[8] This information is taken from Chemainus Native College Program Guide, 1999-2000.

There is an Aboriginal Media Program in areas such as reporting, media relations, and radio programming. Community involvement, through covering community issues and the words of the Elders are an integral part of this program, which is delivered through a series of small, hands-on group workshops. This two-year program leads to a Print Journalism diploma from Loyalist College of Applied Arts and Technology.

A Mohawk Language Program is offered in partnership with Brock University as a three year, accredited program. The aim of the program is to encourage Mohawk Language fluency, literacy and grammatical competence. Students may use their course credits toward university access and potential certificate.

A degree program in Public Administration is offered in partnership with Ryerson Polytechnic University in Toronto. At this stage the purpose of the partnership is to explore the development and eventual delivery of a Public Administration Degree Program for First Nations students and communities.